A

# VIEW

OF THE

# PRESENT STATE

OF

# IRELAND,

CONTAINING

## OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

## FOLLOWING SUBJECTS,

VIZ.

ITS DEPENDANCE, LINEN TRADE, PROVISION TRADE, WOOLEN MANUFACTORY, COALS, FISHERY, AGRICULTURE. OF EMIGRATION. IMPORT TRADE OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN. EFFECT OF THE PRESENT MODE OF RAISING THE REVENUE. ON THE HEALTH AND HAPPINESS OF THE PEOPLE. THE REVENUE. A NATIONAL BANK: AND AN ABSENTEE TAX.

INTENDED FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF

## PARLIAMENT,

On the approaching Enlargement of the Trade of that Kingdom.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A Sketch of ſome of the principal Political Characters in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons.

There have been inſtances in particular Monarchies, of petty States, exempt from Taxes, that have been as miſerable as the circumjacent Places, which groaned under the Weight of Exaction. The chief Reaſon of this, is, that the petty State, can hardly have any ſuch Thing as Induſtry, Arts or Manufactures, becauſe of it's being ſubject to a Thouſand Reſtraints from the great State, with which it is environed.

MONTESQUIEU.

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MDCCLXXX.

G.R. III.

TO HIS GRACE

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND,

LENOX AND AUBIGNY,

WITH THE MOST PROFOUND DEFERENCE AND RESPECT,

THE FOLLOWING VIEW

OF THE

PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND,

IS HUMBLY INSCRIBED,

BY HIS GRACE'S

MOST OBEDIENT SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

# INTRODUCTION.

THE ſituation of Britain preſents, at this period, an awful ſpectacle to the world. The defection of her colonies; the diſcontents and diſtreſſes of a valuable appendant kingdom; a dangerous war with the houſe of Bourbon, caſt a mournful gloom over the brightneſs of her former proſperity.

If theſe misfortunes have originated in a raſh impolicy, they may ſtill poſſibly be retrieved, by a courſe of moderation and juſtice. A generous and beneficent ſpirit ought to direct our councils, and baniſh every contracted, ſordid meaſure of policy, which did not comprehend the welfare of the whole empire.

The kingdom of Ireland has ſtruggled for near a century, under the iron rod of commercial oppreſſion. The narrow illiberal temper of the trader, ſeemed to have reached and ſubdued the wiſdom of the ſtate. Inſtead of beholding Ireland in the light of a partner and friend, the ruin of that kingdom, in the eye of mercantile avarice, appears to have been conſidered as the deſtruction of a dangerous rival.

The reſtrictions of Britain, co-operating with various cauſes, have at length produced what had been long apprehended, a national bankruptcy in Ireland. The inhabitants have diſcovered, in this deſperate ſituation, a ſpirit, which a ſeries of uniform injury had never arouſed.

Religious

Religious prejudices cauſed animoſity and diſcenſion. Religious incapacities gave the Roman Catholics ſcarcely any intereſt in the proſperity of the kingdom. The Proteſtant beheld the Roman Catholic with apprehenſion and diſtruſt; the latter murmured at privileges he was not permitted to enjoy.

The reſolutions of the laſt ſeſſions in Ireland, reſtoring ſome of the rights of humanity to the Roman Catholics, have contributed to eſtabliſh a broad and ſolid baſis for national unanimity. The fortunes of all religious perſuaſions are now embarked in the ſame cauſe. The cloud of prejudice diſſipates before the riſing day of concord and harmony.

This is the true ſpring of that firmneſs, and of that zeal, which having given birth to military and patriotic aſſociations, from their novelty and unexpected appearance in that kingdom, have excited the attention and admiration of this country, and all Europe.

This is an effect, which was ripening under the influence of a benignant union of intereſts, and which the national calamity has only anticipated.

The Iriſh parliament, after a long night of ſervility and venal acquieſcence, ſeem to have caught a portion of the ſpirit which pervades the people.

A free and unlimited trade is the right which their parliament have beſought of his Majeſty in their addreſs.

dreſs. They have ſolemnly declared, that nothing leſs can preſerve the kingdom from abſolute ruin.

This is a requeſt which comes in a ſhape of too much importance to be raſhly denied. What is the objection which the Engliſh manufacturer can offer to this ſalutary meaſure? The only one which the moſt unfeeling partiſan of monopoly and injuſtice can mention, is the inequality of taxation. To this I ſhall endeavour to give an anſwer. Firſt, the reſtrictions under which Ireland complains, were not founded upon any ſuch pretence; they originated in a ſelfiſh mercantile diſpoſition, which impoſed the fetters without preſcribing any terms by which the Iriſh might be left free. Secondly, The kingdom is in a ſtate of national and private bankruptcy. The taxes are no longer productive: an unconfined trade, a commerce open and liberal as the day, is the laſt and only remedy which can be adminiſtered to a periſhing country. But is this a time to impoſe new taxes, when the nation has ſunk under the preſſure of the old? Commerce then muſt precede taxation. Thirdly, What is the criterion of this equality? What is the tribunal appointed for it's aſcertainment? Is it the parliament of Ireland—or the people of Britain, who are to determine on it's bounds? If Ireland waits for relief, untill generoſity and juſtice is united with a mercantile ſpirit, ſhe will periſh in making the experiment.

It is not humanity and juſtice, which can be pleaded always with ſucceſs againſt a ſordid mercenary diſpoſition. It is in the policy, the neceſſity of this meaſure, that the inhabitants of Ireland muſt confide.

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The parliament of Britain will not, I apprehend, be inſenſible to the calamities of an important kingdom. They will not be ſo impolitic as to convert the ſharpneſs of diſtreſs into reſentment and deſpair. They ought therefore to give all that their juſtice can beſtow.

Happy time when Britain will no longer appear the bane of Iriſh property, but the guardian of her fortune. When ſhe will be bound to this country, in an indiſſoluble connection, founded upon eſteem, gratitude, and mutual intereſt.

On the eve of a revolution, in the great commercial policy of Britain towards Ireland, I have thought it might be of ſome uſe, to give a view of the ſtate of commerce in that country. I have written with impartiality, and with a deſire to ſerve the general intereſts of the empire; and theſe are the diſpoſitions I offer as an atonement for my defects.

# A VIEW OF THE PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND.

## *Of the Dependance of Ireland, on the Crown of Great Britain.*

BRITAIN, in impoſing commercial reſtriction on Ireland, has founded the exerciſe of this power on ſuppoſed rights, ariſing from conqueſt and colonization. The conduct of this country ought to be juſtified, in this extraordinary exertion, on two principles, viz. juſtice and policy; before one free nation ſhould ſhackle and bind another, it ſhould be certain of the right; and if this could be eſtabliſhed, its exerciſe ought next to be proved expedient.

To give the right of conqueſt efficacy, it ſhould indiſpenſably poſſeſs three qualities. It ſhould not be a wanton and unprovoked attack upon a country; otherwiſe it becomes a robbery —an invaſion of the rights of mankind, inſtead of

being the acquiſition of any right. It ſhould be an abſolute and complete conqueſt, and not partial or confined. The effecting of a ſettlement in a country is very different from its final ſubduction.——And laſtly, it ſhould not be releaſed.

How far theſe qualities ſubſiſt in the dominion which Great Britain has claimed over Ireland, I ſhall attempt to illuſtrate, by a conciſe abſtract from the hiſtory of the reſpective countries.

England, influenced by the dictates of an unjuſtifiable ambition, attained her firſt eſtabliſhment in Ireland, by ſupporting a * weak and tyrannical prince. Divided by the number of it's independant and petty princes; diſtracted by inteſtine feuds, the Iriſh made little reſiſtance againſt the intrepidity and military ſkill of the Engliſh. The immenſe force with which Henry the II. in perſon, afterwards, invaded the kingdom, terrified the Iriſh princes into an oath of fealty and allegiance.

It had been the policy of the Iriſh princes upon many occaſions, to practiſe a political ſubmiſſion, when they either wiſhed to avert the horrors of war, or thought reſiſtance impracticable.—Thus when the king of Norway ſent his ſhoes to one of the king's of Ireland, requiring him to carry them round his palace; the prudent prince complied: he did not put this little meaſure of diſgrace to his own perſon in competition

* Dermod king of Leinſter, expelled from Ireland for committing a rape.

petition with the ſafety and welfare of the kingdom.

Whatever right England might have acquired, by this unjuſt invaſion, and her ſubſequent ſettlement in the kingdom, appears to me, to have been renounced, by making John Earl of Morton, the king's, youngeſt ſon, independent lord of Ireland. The appointment of a prince to govern a country, may poſſibly be in that inſtance, an exerciſe of ſovereignty or dominion, but if it is granted without reſervation, it is a pure allodial gift, and releaſes every future claim.

That John received and enjoyed this abſolute gift, is evident from theſe circumſtances. In the year 1187, Cardinal Octaviance, and the Biſhop of Coventry landed in England, with a legantine power, from Pope Urban, to crown Earl John. The blind ſuperſtition of theſe times, would not permit this ceremony of inveſtiture, without the conſent of the Pope. Henry, however, being embarraſſed by his Norman dominions, was obliged to poſtpone the coronation.

After the death of king Henry, during the reign of Richard the I. John continued to rule in Ireland, exerciſing every act of ſovereignity. He even granted, in his own name, a Magna Charta to Ireland.

Ireland might thus have continued an independant kingdom, and his poſterity might have reigned in it to this day, if on the death of Richard, he had not, in excluſion of Arthur, the

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ſon of Geoffry his elder brother, ſeized on the throne of England. The acceſſion of John, to the crown of England, will never re eſtabliſh the right of conqueſt, if it ever poſſeſſed any exiſtance: if his claim to England was founded on inheritance, his ſucceſſion could not on any principle, alter or ſubvert the independance of Ireland; if it was a right of violence; the crown of England was acquired by force or conqueſt, and that by an Iriſh prince. The inference from this event, would in this caſe entirely reverſe the propoſition.

Hiſtory abounds with inſtances ſimilar to this diſpoſal of Ireland by Henry the II. Charles the XII. releaſed the right of conqueſt he had gained over Poland, by conferring the crown of that kingdom on Staniſlaus. Sweden at this day, entertains no ilde claim over that country by a remembrace of her conqueſt. It has been the ambition and policy of the courts of France and Spain, in various inſtances, to acquire ſovereignities for their younger ſons; when they have effected theſe eſtabliſhments, we have never heard of thoſe crowns claiming a dominion over the countries which have received them for ſovereigns.

Thus it manifeſtly appears, that the invaſion of Ireland, was an act of the higheſt injuſtice;* that

* Stowe mentions, that the Pope beſtowed the kingdom of Ireland upon Henry the II. on condition that he would re-eſtabliſh the chriſtian faith, and taking eſpecial care that every houſe ſhould pay St. Peter's penny: at this day, it is to be preſumed, little regard will be paid to this pious grant.

that altho' the Iriſh accepted of an Engliſh prince to govern them, this circumſtance is not always a ſign of conqueſt.—And laſtly, that the right of England was abſolutely, and without reſerve, diſpoſed of to this ſovereign, ‡ whom the Iriſh obeyed.

The right flowing from colonization, is equally defective: and here we have an opportunity of remarking more ſtrongly, upon the partial and confined conqueſt of Ireland. When colonization is called in, to ſupport the claim of dominion, it neceſſarily preſumes, that conqueſt is incomplete. ‖ For if Ireland was conquered, the right of conqueſt § is the moſt abſolute that can be acquired. It would have been, therefore, nugatory to have recourſe to colonization, to ſupply the defect of conqueſt, when colonization itſelf will not warrant the power which is claimed. The right of colonization cannot be extended farther than the colonies. The Engliſh ſettlements on the coaſts of America and India, were never ſuppoſed to bind the natives of theſe immenſe

‡ The kings of England were called lords of Ireland, till the reign of Henry the VIII. after his quarrel with the Pope.

‖ Blackſtone vol. I. page 100, founds the right of England upon conqueſt and colonization.

§ Sir John Davis in his book, entitled Reaſons why Ireland was never conquered, ſhews that the native Iriſh, in the reign of Edward the IV. were entirely without the protection of the Engliſh law, and that it was not deemed murder to kill them. He ſhews that the Engliſh colonizers were a ſeparate people in their government and laws until the reign of queen Eliſabeth.

immenſe countries. Whatever may be the meaſure of obligation due to the parent ſtate, for the nurture and protection ſhe affords to her infant colonies, her claim cannot on any principle of juſtice, be ſtretched to the country at large, where they are permitted to reſide.

I have attempted to give the outline of this argument, but let us grant the advocates for Engliſh dominion all they wiſh. Let us imagine that the war carried into Ireland by Henry the II. was founded on the ſtricteſt juſtice.—That the people of Ireland were collectively ſubdued,* and that the conſequent rights of England, were never relinquiſhed. The end of conqueſt is preſervation and uſe, ‡ and not deſtruction; it is of little importance to a captive, ſhould his life be ſpared in battle, if he is afterwards manacled and denied the means of exiſtence.

The intereſts and rights of Ireland were maintained with great ardour and ſucceſs by Sir William Molyneux. † This public queſtion was debated

* Blackſtone vol. I. page 199, denies the Norman right of conqueſt; the victory of William, he obſerves, was not over the nation collectively, but only over the perſon of Harold. The only right he acquired was to the Crown of England, and not to alter the Governmnent.

‡ The injurious policy of Britain towards Ireland is diffuſed throughout the remaining eſſays.

† This gentleman came over to England, previous to the publication of his book, upon this ſubject, to conſult the celebrated Mr. Locke, that able aſſertor of liberty, approved of the performance, and encouraged him in it's proſecution.

debated with a ſpirit and warmth which intereſted the nation. Parliament thought proper at laſt to interfere, and by an act made in the ſixth of George the I. it was declared, "that Ireland is, and of right ought to be, ſubordinate to, and dependant upon the imperial crown of Great Britain; and that parliament hath power to make laws to bind the people of Ireland."

A declaratory law will not create a right, which had no antecedent exiſtence. But here we muſt bow with reſpectful deference to authority. Between nations, there is no arbiter of dominion but the ſword. From an appeal of this melancholy kind, I turn my eyes with abhorrence. A whole people are more patient of ſufferance, than prompt to avenge. The misfortunes of Britain, and the calamities of America, will prove an uſeful monitor to both countries.

The ſituation of Ireland will never excite her to rebellion * by the vain hope of giving birth to the grandeur of a riſing empire. The territory of America, and the velocity of her population, turned the eyes of mankind to that æra, when by a gentle effort, ſhe ſhould ſtand diſengaged from the ſhackles of dependence.

On

* Nothing but the perſevering injuſtice of Britain can deſtroy the attachments and loyalty of the inhabitants of Ireland.

On the contrary, the fall of Britain would produce the mournful exchange of an imperfect liberty, for an abſolute tyranny.* The murmurs of ill requited friendſhip, would be converted into the abject meekneſs of a trembling ſlave.

Ireland muſt then be content with the condition of a province of France or Spain, or if in the ſtruggles of Bourbon greatneſs, by a ſurprizing phænomenon, ſhe ſhould be declared independent; without colonies, without foreign ſettlements, without force to guard her commerce, or preſerve herſelf from inſult, ſhe might remain for a few years in this ſtate of trembling exiſtance, until wearied with her ſituation, ſhe chearfully threw herſelf into the arms of the firſt great power that would undertake her protection.

## *Of the Commerce of Ireland.*

IRELAND has been a ſatellite attendant upon the ſuperior orb of Britain. Would to Heaven! that the latter reflected back a portion of the ſplendor ſhe has ſo liberally received from that unfortunate kingdom.

England, ruled by a principle of commerce, has endeavoured to turn all her dependencies and

* Ireland I apprehend would receive from France a national liberty of commerce, with the miſerable alloy of individual ſlavery

and poſſeſſions into this channel of her greatneſs. She planted colonies in climes, where the quality of their products would afford a reciprocal advantage in the exchange of their commodities. But ſhe ſhould have conſiderd, that Nature, in giving Ireland a ſoil and climate ſimilar to her own, had eſtabliſhed an eternal barrier againſt this policy. She ſhould have obſerved, that Ireland, from ſituation, ought to have formed part of her agregate empire in Europe. Inſtead of holding an oppreſſed and impoveriſhed kingdom in her orbit by the precarious chain of power; ſhe ſhould have attracted it by the ties of affection, gratitude, and mutual advantage. A conduct of this kind would have rivetted that kingdom in firmer bonds than the incorporation of Parliaments. Ireland rendered happy, would be loyal—enjoying the rights of commerce would become ſtrong, and thus would form one of the principal pillars in ſupporting the Britiſh Empire.

The arms of Ireland have been employed in promoting the commerce and extending the dominion of Great Britain. She hath fought for her on the torrid coaſt of Africa—ſhe hath aſſiſted in making the Britiſh name glorious in the Eaſt—ſhe hath lent her ſtrength in ſupporting the right of Britain in America, againſt the French. Yet what has been the extent of her commerce? Favoured by Heaven with every

natural advantage to command the moſt extenſive trade, in what a miſerable circle of traffic hath ſhe been circumſcribed? From Aſia and Africa ſhe hath been totally precluded—with America and the Weſt Indies curbed and reſtrained in almoſt every valuable article of importation or exportation—the ſame reſtrictions have been extended to her commerce with every country in Europe.

England hath turned every valuable export of Ireland into her own hands, and ſhe hath not permitted her to receive tea, ſugar, tobacco, indigo, rice, coffee, and a multitude of other weighty articles, but from herſelf, and at the price ſhe thought proper to impoſe.

In examining the policy of this general and unexampled monopoly, it has been aptly ſuggeſted, that if the trade of Europe conſiſted of twenty parts, and Ireland gained one part, there would be an equal loſs of one-twentieth to the commercial countries of Europe. Now, if Britain poſſeſſed four parts, it follows, that four-fifths of the loſs ariſing from the increaſed commerce of Ireland would be ſuſtained by foreign countries. Thus France would feel ſeveverely in her woollen manufactures; and if the gain of Ireland is the eventual acquiſition of this country, England would gain four-fifths of her own ſtock at the expence of the reſt of Europe.

Having

Having thus taken a general view of the trade of Ireland, I ſhall endeavour to conſider it in detail, in the following order; firſt of the exports of Ireland, and afterwards of the imports.

Of the firſt I ſhall make the following diſtinction—The articles that are exported, and ſome of thoſe that ought to be exported. And firſt of the linen manufacture.

## *Of the Linen Trade.*

THE linen * trade is the principal pillar of Iriſh commerce. In leſs than eighty years, the induſtry of one province of the kingdom, compoſed chiefly of Preſbyterians, carried this manufacture almoſt to the laſt ſtage of perfection. At the begining of the preſent century, the amount of the exportation of linen from Ireland, did not exceed ſix thouſand pounds, and it has proceeded forward in a rapid progreſſion,

* When Ireland, in the beginning of this century, relinquiſhed her woollen trade, to gratify the ſordid wiſhes of ſome Engliſh manufacturers, it was expreſly ſtipulated on the part of England, that every encouragement ſhould be extended to the Iriſh linen manufacture. This promiſe has been groſsly broken and evaded: the reſtrictions on Iriſh printed linens, and her ſail cloth was in direct oppoſition to it's letter and ſpirit. The encouragement given to foreign linen, has been alſo another inſtance of an ungenerous diſregard to the intereſts of Ireland.

until

until in the year 1772, it's value was eſtimated at near a million and a half.

A trade of this extent did not, however, ſpring up the ſpontaneous produce of a luxuriant ſoil. A board of trade was conſtituted, compoſed of the principal perſonages of the kingdom, who were entitled the truſtees of the linen manufacture. A ſyſtem of laws was framed for the regulation of this trade, and the prevention of fraud, which for wiſdom, penetration and an attention, which extended to the moſt minute articles, would do honour to the moſt enlightened country. Eighteen thouſand pounds per ann. was intruſted by parliament, to the diſtribution of the truſtees in premiums, for extending and encouraging the linen manufacture; * under this auſpicious influence, it flouriſhed, and grew apace, whilſt every day new proſelytes to induſtry were invited to take ſhelter under its benignant ſhade.

Ireland has the advantage of Scotland, its rival in the linen manufacture, in two eſſential articles. It is better adapted from the quality of its ſoil, for the cultivation of flax, and its water aſſimilates with a peculiar facility with the aſhes uſed in forming the ly or waſh for bleaching.

* The premium offered by the truſtees of the linen manufacture, have been latterly ſo irregularly paid, that all invitation to the manufacture derived from them, has in a great meaſure abated.

The

The art of bleaching has been carried in Ireland to an exceſs of refinement, ſacrificing ſometimes, as I apprehend, the ſtability of the fabric to external beauty.

The linen trade is an object of immenſe magnitude, and its advancement or decline, involves the deareſt intereſts of the kingdom ſo much, that I could wiſh it was in my power to ſuggeſt any hint that would tend to its improvement.

At this day, of univerſal diſtreſs in Ireland, the opening of new avenues of trade, will no doubt, revive the ſpirits of the inhabitants, and may poſſibly encourage ſome few adventurers to engage in thoſe untried paths; but the advancement of the linen manufacture is immediate in its operation and permanent in its effect. I know but of two ways to attain this advantage. One is, by raiſing the material of the manufactures at home; the other, in the extending the conſumption of the manufacture itſelf.

Under the firſt head I comprize the cultivation of flax, and the ſaving of flax-ſeed for ſowing. The cultivation of flax at preſent labours under three obſtacles: the uncertainty of the quality of flax-ſeed; the high price of foreign flax-ſeed, and the non-exemption of flax from tithes.

The interdiction of American commerce, together with other evils, threatened the extinction of the linen trade. Deprived by this fatal difference,

difference, of flax ſeed, the origin and ſpring of the manufacture, it ſeemed for a moment on the verge of ruin. The Engliſh Parliament indeed, with a provident eye had endeavoured to avert this calamity, by directing a bounty on the importation of flax-ſeed from the Baltic and the Netherlands, to be paid out of their treaſury. Flax-ſeed, however, was poured into the kingdom in ſuch large quantities, as amply to compenſate for the interruption of the uſual American importation.

The quantity annually conſumed in Ireland is eſtimated at 30,000 hogſheads. The American flax-ſeed had been often held over, and ſold in the enſuing ſeaſon with the ſame ſucceſs as in the year of its vegetation. Unhappily the Baltic and Netherlands did not poſſeſs this advantage. To a philoſophic eye this difference in the principle of vegetation may be attributed to the vivifying ardent quality of the air in America, and the torpid humid climates in the northern European countries. In one year 5000 hogſheads of old and corrupt flax ſeed were ſold for ſowing in Ireland, which entirely failed to grow. Although the ſeller had paſſed the moſt flattering encomiums on the fertility of the ſeed; yet on this melancholy occaſion, whether from avarice and injuſtice as principals, or acting under orders as

agents

agents to their correſpondents abroad, all reſtitution was denied. The quantity of flax-ſeed ſowed by each farmer or cultivator, on an average, is computed at about ſeven gallons. This, in one year, deprived 50,000 families of the chief ſpring of an indiſpenſable but wretched and unfruitful induſtry.* The linen act had made ſome wiſe proviſons for the prevention of this evil, and the truſtees acting under its authority, inflicted penalties upon ſeveral of the principal importers. The framer of this act of Parliament had indiſputably intended to grant to this ſummary juriſdiction a power of final determination without any appeal whatever; yet, I am informed, the merits of theſe judgments are now in the court of King's Bench of Ireland; and it is a principal queſtion, whether this act of Parliament, by virtue of which, ſeveral perſons committing offences named in the act, have ſuffered

* To give ſome general idea of this article and its produce, I offer the following calculation. A buſhel of flax-ſeed will produce from 10 to 15, ſometimes 20 ſtone of flax. The average product 12 ſtone, at 8s. average price, is 4l. 16s. per buſhel. This value on ſeven buſhels, the quantity on a hogſhead amounts to 33l. 12s. the loſs therefore occaſioned by the failure of 5000 hogſheads is equal to 168,000l. and this in the firſt inſtance only. Numberleſs families could not afford to purchaſe flax for ſpinning; and the public therefore loſt, not only the material, but the value which would have been added to it by the labour of thoſe unfortunate people.

ſuffered a capital puniſhment, is a private or public act. The truſtees irritated at the interpoſition of the Court of King's Bench, (and poſſibly ignorant, that as no writ of certiorari was prohibited by the act of Parliament, that this court was bound to grant it on being demanded,) applied to Parliament, in order that this part of their juriſdiction ſhould be withdrawn.

Thus did the nation loſe the benefit of a ſummary remedy in the regulation of it's ſtaple commodity. Since that period, numberleſs frauds have been committed in the ſale of flax-ſeed. Every year produces immenſe failures, which diſhearten the farmer, and ruin the inferior order of cultivators. There is one great remedy for this evil, which purifies the ſtream at the fountain head. All holders of flax-ſeed, in the months of Auguſt or September, ſhould be compelled to ſell what is then on hand for oil. Government ſhould erect oil mills for this purpoſe, and the profits reſulting from this manufacture would ſoon repay the expence of their eſtabliſhment.

When flax-ſeed was imported from America, it was the moſt common return made to Ireland for its linen cloth, and the few articles Great Britain permitted to be exported. It generally ſold at an average price of about 2l. 15s. per hogſhead; ſince that kingdom has been ſupplied

plied from the north of Europe, the price to the farmer has been 4l. 11s. per hogſhead, at an average. This price, on a conſumption of 30,000 hogſheads, amounts to the enormous ſum of 136,500l. which the nation pays in the firſt inſtance for this article, and which muſt be deemed a burthen and preſſure upon the manufacture of an immenſe magnitude. If we eſtimate the firſt coſt of this ſeed at 50s. Iriſh, there is a loſs to Ireland of 76,00l. being the whole amount of the trade. The ſhips employed in this commerce have never carried to Koningſberg, Lucbec, Riga, or Oſtend, a ſingle article of the manufacture or produce of Ireland.

Parliament might abate the meaſure of this injury, by offering liberal bounties on the ſaving of flax-ſeed. This would heal two wounds which the manufacture at preſent endures. It would aſſure to the ſower flax-ſeed of a good quality, and it would retain in the kingdom the alarming ſum annually remitted for its purchaſe.

The third expedient I would point out in favour of the cultivation of flax, is allowing it an exemption from tithe. This would operate as a bounty upon the cultivation; and if thoſe perſons who would be affected by this ſtep, ſhould be held entitled to the conſideration of

Parliament, it might be eaſy to provide an adequate compenſation.

The other head I propoſed treating of, was extending the conſumption. This great meaſure, more flattering than almoſt any other commercial advantage, depends on Britain. The conſumption of England alone conſiderably exceeds the Iriſh exportation of linen cloth. This added to the Weſt Indian, African, Spaniſh and American trade, offers an extenſive and inexhauſtable demand. This mighty trade might be ſecured to Ireland and Scotland, by an act of ſimple juſtice. It is no more than cauſing German linens to be rated at the cuſtom-houſe at their real and not an obſolete and nominal value. This important ſtep would be a neceſſary conſequence of recurring to thoſe principles of policy, which induced our anceſtors to conſider the encouragement of the manufactures inſtituted in their own dominions as the firſt and primary object of commercial regulation.

If England opened her ports for the introduction of French woollen cloth, would it not diſtreſs, if not totally ruin her woollen manufactures? The ſame policy that precludes all countries from exporting that article into England, ſhould be, in ſome degree, extended in favour of the linen trade of Ireland and Scotland. I do not require that German linens ſhould be taxed to a prohibition; but it would demonſtrate

ſtrate a judicious policy, to reſtrict an importation which is daily increaſing, and which has proportionably impoveriſhed the linen manufacture of Ireland and Scotland.

The linen manufacture, in the year 1772, received a violent ſhock from the failure of Fordyce the Banker. An entire ceſſation of public credit, not only in this kingdom, but in Ireland, cauſed it to languiſh for two or three years before it began to revive after that misfortune. The commencement of the American war alarmed the public with new apprehenſions, and made them tremble for the ſafety of this ſtaple article. To the aſtoniſhment of Ireland, the year 1776 produced no ſymptoms of that wreck and deſolation which has lately overwhelmed the trade of the kingdom. Every countenance beamed with gladneſs, at finding the gloomy ſpeculations of politicians at this criſis unfulfilled. Men, however, who looked beyond the glittering deluſion of the preſent moment, ſtill entertained fears for the event. They attributed the demand that prevailed for linen cloth, to the ſupply neceſſary for the Spaniſh fleet, which about that time ſailed for South America. An extra demand for linen adapted to the printing manufactory at Mancheſter, was another cauſe to which the preſent ſpirit was aſcribed: as they conſidered theſe cauſes as temporary, they prognoſticated the ſame of the effect.

We

We have beheld theſe predictions, theſe apprehenſions fatally verified. The linen trade, in the following year, once more became dull and languid. It ſtill preſerves an exiſtence, but it is the decripidneſs of old age, inſtead of the blooming appearance of manly health and vigour.

*Of*

The value of the linen cloth exported at this time from Ireland, cannot much exceed one million ſterling yearly. There is alſo a conſiderable exportation of linen yarn from the towns of London-Derry and Sligoe: it is eſtimated at three hundred thouſand pounds annually. This great quantity of yarn is entirely purchaſed for the Mancheſter traders. They procure the material on terms which Engliſh opulence could never afford to produce. They cauſe it to be wrought into Mancheſter printed linens, and linen and cotton manufacture. After it has received the acceſſion of Commiſſion to the factors in Ireland, freight from thence, inſurance, weaving, printing, and a variety of other expences, together with the profit of the manufacturer, it is returned to Ireland with this accumulated expence, to be paid for by the Iriſh conſumer. Mancheſter has been always inimical to Iriſh proſperity—May Ireland ceaſe to contribute to the advantages of men ſo ſordid—ſo unfriendly to the voice of juſtice and humanity.

I ſhall attempt to give an idea of the various ſtages of the linen manufacture, and their relative value. For this purpoſe I ſhall take a piece of yard wide linen, at 18d, which is the average price of linen exported from Ireland.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 piece, containing 25 yards, at 18d value, | 1 | 17 | 6 |
| | £. | s. | d. |
| To 8 lb. of fine dreſſed flax, at 10d per lb. | 0 | 6 | 8 |
| To ſpinning 40 hanks of yarn, at 2½d per hank - - | 0 | 8 | 4 |
| | 0 | 15 | 0 |

To

## *Of the Proviſion Trade.*

THE linen manufacture is ſeated in the province of Ulſter, and one or two counties in Connaught. The remainder of Connaught and the ſouthern provinces of Leinſter and

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Brought forward* | | | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| To the buyer of the yarn and profit on having it weaved - | | | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| To the weaver, 25 yards, at 4d - | | | 0 | 8 | 4 |
| To the buyer of linen for his commiſſion on the purchaſe - - | | | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| To bleaching 25 yards at 2½d per yard | | | 0 | 5 | 2½ |
| To carriage to Dublin - | | | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| To commiſſion on the ſale, at 3½d per cent. | | | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| Incidental - - - | | | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| | | | | 1 | 13 2½ |
| To the linen merchant for intereſt of money, riſque of his factor, chance of bad market, &c. | | | | 0 | 4 3½ |
| | | | | 1 | 17 6 |

Spinning is the buſineſs of women, who are obliged to work diligently, if they produce a hank of yarn in the day, of the quality neceſſary for the above linen. Two pence halfpenny a day is a moſt ſcanty earning, but even this is ſometimes conſiderably reduced when yarn is very low.

The labour of the weaver is more productive. With much aſſiduity he can weave two yards or two yards and a half per day of the above linen, which amounts to ten pence, or five ſhillings per week.

It appears from the above calculation, that the yarn is little more than one third of the value of the piece of linen when bleached and at market. From this ſome judgment may be formed of the injury ariſing from exporting yarn. When printing and the high price of Engliſh labour is added, the firſt coſt of the yarn is multiplied at leaſt five times.

and Munſter, are utterly deſtitute * of arts and manufactures. This fine fertile and populous country, capable of raiſing every material to ſtimulate induſtry, has remained for ages in the firſt ſtage only of civilization. Like the ancient patriarchs and modern race of Tartars, the care of flocks and herds form the chief employment of the inhabitants. Immenſe tracts of country, extending as far the eye can reach, diſplay a great aſſemblage of cattle, under the direction of a ſingle herdſman, unconfined by marches or any viſible boundaries.

A miſerable hut, the reſidence of the tattered attendant upon theſe droves of cattle, occaſionally relieves the eye from the melancholy unvariegated proſpect. Nature, however, often in wild variety, affords a charming view of exuberant bounty in various parts of this country. The enchanting lakes, diverſified with an infinite number of iſlands: the ſpontaneous groves, the majeſtic rivers, and the warbling ſtreams, affect the beholder with a mournful idea of an ungrateful neglect and inatttention, whilſt Nature ſolicits regard by all the attachments of unbounded munificence.

The propagation of live ſtock is always deſtructive of population. By agriculture and manufactures we find it conſtantly promoted. This is

* I except Dublin in this obſervation, where ſundry manufactures are ſupported on narrow wretched ſcales.

is evident from the example of China, Perſia, the Indies, and even many countries in Europe. In the three firſt great empires, where the human race multiply with an aſtoniſhing rapidity, they depend for ſubſiſtence on the cultivation of their lands. In Europe we find Holland, by the mere force of induſtry and application to manufactures, ſubſiſt in the proportion of her territory, ſeveral times the population of Ireland. On the contrary, in America, Tartary, and other paſturage countries, the human kind are comparatively few, as it regards the extent of their country.

The application of lands to the feeding of cattle is far alſo from being productive. This appears from the moſt flouriſhing years of the export of proviſions. Before the American war, the value of the beef, tallow, and butter exported from all Ireland did not amount to a million. The exportation of linen cloth from one province during the ſame period, amounted to nearly double the ſum: beſides, we include in this eſtimate an extenſive exportation, chiefly of butter and pork, from Belfaſt, Newry, and Sligoe, towns in the northerly parts of the kingdom.

The exportation of proviſions to foreign ports is alſo caſual and uncertain. France and Spain during peace, are almoſt its only objects, and

the jealouſies and wars between Britain and theſe countries ſubject it to infinite diſtreſs, difficulty and diſappointment.

An unlimited trade will open different views to the proprietors of lands. Manufactures will promote population, and a riſing ſpirit of agriculture will ſubſiſt increaſing people. Villages, and after them towns will erect their heads in thoſe extenſive fertile plains, where at preſent no habitation appears. The healthful villager, and the robuſt nervous artiſt, will ſalute the traveller, inſtead of the herdſman, or the unemployed half ſtarved vagrant.

I ſhall now make a few obſervations on the ſtate of this trade for the laſt four or five years.

In the firſt year of the American conteſt, this trade ſwelled into the richeſt ſtream of traffic that had ever been experienced in that branch. The immenſe orders from England—the ſupply of the troops in America, and the great demands from France and Spain, advanced this article fifty per cent. and for a moment diſpelled the gloom ariſing from the loſs of American commerce.

This pleaſing proſpect was ſoon darkened, by a proclamation, laying an embargo on the exportation of proviſions to all foreign places. It has been affirmed, on the moſt inconteſtable evidence, that this fatal meaſure was the offſpring of a private

private intereſt. Ireland was ſacrificed to the influence of a * few contractors in England, who having entered into contracts with government, for ſupplying the king's troops, were deſirous of raiſing fortunes, at the expence of that unfortunate country.

If the proviſion trade continued, even unſhook by the policy of Engliſh government, I ſhould not wiſh it to be extended, or the lands of Ireland to be appropriated to paſturage. But until manufactures and agriculture are properly ſubſtituted, it was the only valuable exportation, except linen, from the country. Before miniſtry, by one act, deprived the people of Ireland of half their proviſion trade, they ſhould have conſidered what compenſation the injured inhabitants ſhould have received for ſuch miſtaken policy: a nation, whoſe exports, at that time, were little more than from two to three millions, could not afford to have one third of it capriciouſly deſtroyed.



* It is ſaid that the inferior contractors in Cork, acquainted their principals in England, that unleſs an embargo took place, they could not fulfil their engagements. This produced an immediate application to government, who granted the requeſt.

Mr. Gordon, the ſurveyor at Cork, has exerted a moſt unconſtitutional power of granting liberty to ſhips, by his ſign manual, to depart with proviſions, or any other goods, without paying any duty. This unexampled ſuſpenſion of an Iriſh act of Parliament, at the will of an individual, requires the moſt ſerious examination. He is armed, it is ſuppoſed, with a private order from government, but this ſhould never protect the meaſure.

We have now before us one great ſource of the diſtreſſes of Ireland; the farmer, the grazier, the landlord, all experienced a portion of this national misfortune: the holders of feeding or paſturage ground, could no longer ſell their cattle; the great market at Cork was glutted and over-ſtocked. Tenants could not pay their rents, the grazier was no longer able to make good his engagements, and the ſpeculative merchant was undone.

The moment an account arrived in France, of the embargo on Iriſh proviſions, orders were immediately ſent to Denmark, Norway, &c. to furniſh a ſupply for their Weſt Indian commerce. In a little time the French markets were completely ſtocked. The Iriſh merchant murmuring and in deſpair, deeming the reſtriction illegal, took the oaths required at the cuſtom houſe, but unhappily found the market anticipated. As an aggravation of mercantile diſtreſs, many veſſels from Ireland inſured at a high premium, were taken by Engliſh ſhips, on their paſſage to France, and the inſurers refuſed to be accountable for their value.

Proviſions now ſunk ſixty per cent; every market for ſmall beef, was ſhut up from the merchant, and even a clandeſtine trade was precluded by the ſituation of the French markets.

If government intended by this meaſure, to abate the national expence of the war, at the coſt of Ireland, little of this effect was produced. The ſmall beef which ſuffered moſt in its price, was entirely unfit for the purpoſe of government. If they intended to diſtreſs an expected enemy, the event in a little time, too fatally proved, that France had abundant reſources for proviſion, without depending on Ireland.

* The firſt embargo which government impoſed on Ireland in February, 1776, prohibited the exportation of proviſions from that kingdom to any foreign countries, without reſtricting England. This was a meaſure leſs malignant than the general embargo which followed in October in the ſame year; but at the ſame time, it was replete with the groſſeſt partiality. Iriſh proviſions, on this occaſion, paſſed through the hands of the Engliſh merchant, whilſt every motive which could ſpring from a ſuppoſed political neceſſity, equally inhibited both countries from exportation.

The firſt embargo originated in illiberality; the laſt was an act of national injuſtice. Government

* I acknowledge myſelf indebted for conſiderable information on this ſubject, to a pamphlet publiſhed in Ireland, entitled, "A Copy of a Report drawn up by a Committee appointed to enquire into that Trade." It is republiſhed by Mr. Almon in his Remembrancer, No. 54.

vernment either offered up Ireland at the ſhrine of private intereſt, or they made a fruitleſs attempt to diſappoint the military preparations of France, by devoting Ireland to an unmerited but inevitable ruin.

France has diſcovered in Denmark and the northern powers, a certain ſource of ſupply. Thoſe countries are enabled, from the cheapneſs of their lands, to furniſh cattle on eaſier terms than Ireland can afford. The * proviſion trade to France has been turned into a new channel, from whence it will never poſſibly be recalled.

Whilſt we lament the misfortunes which have flowed from this national blow, may we not look up and examine the ſtrength of that power by which this injury has been committed?

The Crown claims and exerciſes the high prerogative of ſuſpending the laws of Ireland. In Britain, when the exigency of the ſtate has required an immediate and indiſpenſible remedy to be exerted by the crown, the neceſſity of the meaſure is pleaded for the breach of the

* The number of bullocks ſlaughtered in Ireland in the year 1775, amounted to one hundred and ſixty thouſand. Immenſe quantities of pork were ſhipped from Newry, Belfaſt and other towns, for Cork in the ſame year. Since the embargo the number of bullochs ſlaughtered, have, at a medium, not exceeded fifty thouſand annually, and the demand for pork has entirely abated.

the conſtitution, and the miniſter comes to Parliament for an indemnity. This was practiſed by Lord Chatham in the year 1766, and by Lord Sandwich this year, when the Spaniſh declaration of war required an extraordinary exertion; in order to man the fleet.

Upon what principle the Crown can exert a prerogative of this injurious tendency in Ireland, which it is not allowed to poſſeſs in Britain, I confeſs, ſurpaſſes my comprehenſion. It was thought neceſſary to give the legiſlative aſſent to the interdiction of the trade of Boſton: ſhall a miniſter at pleaſure exerciſe the extenſive privilege of ſhutting up all the ports of Ireland by a proclamation? If proviſions can be reſtricted by this power, why not the linen manufacture? If the Crown can impoſe new conditions for the exportation of any article, why not make duties on impoſts? A right of this kind—a power of this unlimited quality, would render a money bill of little importance. If an extenſion of trade is ſolicited, we are informed it belongs only to Parliament—We are told that it is not in the power of the Crown to grant rights; but at the ſame time we are taught that we hold what we now poſſeſs, or may hereafter attain, as tenants at the will of prerogative. By this contradictory doctrine, the Crown can deprive the people

people of Ireland of their trade, but cannot beſtow it: it reverſes the amiable and juſt maxim of the law, that though prerogative, may always exerciſe humanity and mercy, it can never commit any injury.

Thus it appears, that the embargo on the trade of Ireland was as unconſtitutional as it was impolitic. But as this power continues to be exerciſed, it is time that the great public queſtion of it's legality ſhould be decided. After * three years paſſive ſufferance, ſome ſpirited gentleman ſhould endeavour to have the temper of theſe commercial chains examined in an Iriſh court of juſtice.

The exertions of Mr. Ogle, an Iriſh ſenator, in the great cauſe of his country, were unhappily rendered abortive. This active and patriotic gentleman ſhipped a parcel of beef for Bourdeaux ſoon after the firſt embargo: it was ſeized by the ſhipping officer, againſt whom he immediately brought an action. The death of this perſon, when the cauſe was nearly at iſſue, diſappointed Mr. Ogle's intentions, and gave univerſal concern to the kingdom.

Of

* The demand for beef in France amounted to ſeventy-five thouſand barrels annually.

## *Of the Woollen Trade.*

IN conſidering the trade of Ireland, from the ſituation of the country, the diſpoſition of the inhabitants, and the affluence of the material, this would promiſe to rank in the firſt line of pre-eminence, as an article of exportation. A malignant peeviſh jealouſy poſſeſſed the minds of the Engliſh, when they beheld the firſt dawnings of this riſing manufacture. Immediately after the revolution, they addreſſed a monarch to deſtroy this flower in its bud, whoſe recent eſtabliſhment would not permit him to refuſe a requiſition ſo fraught with impolicy, and ſo replete with ruin to an unfortunate country.

Thus periſhed the woollen trade of Ireland. Since that melancholy period, it has ſcarcely merited the name of exiſtence. Some efforts have been made indeed to cheriſh it's miſerable remains, in the vain expectation of ſupplying the conſumption of the kingdom.

There is a peculiar genius in ſome countries, united with local circumſtances, which, altho' it may be combated by difficulties, will never be overcome. Analogous to the human mind, if Nature has implanted a ſtrong diſpoſition to the attainment of any honourable object, it may be depreſſed by misfortune, or it may be impeded by unkindneſs; but by a juſt and ſteady perſeverance it will, at length, ſurmount every obſtacle.

The

The climate of Ireland is humid; and, altho' not ſubject to that rigorous air to which many northern countries are expoſed, yet it's winter is ſometimes ſevere, and always extended. Nature, liberal in ſupplying the various neceſſities of mankind, has covered the plains of this fine paſturage country with a profuſion of the fleecy tribe. The inhabitants have not been inattentive to this gracious munificence. The auſterity of the clime firſt inſtructed them to cloath themſelves, the redundancy of the material furniſhed the means, and ſuggeſted the diſpoſition of making it the ſubject of an extenſive and beneficial commerce.

But theſe bounties have been poured out in vain!—the temper of it's induſtry has fruitleſsly languiſhed after the object of its wiſhes—Bound down by the fetters of an illiberal monopoly, this unhappy country has long been the object of the pity and contempt of ſurrounding nations. It has been pitied as the victim of Engliſh avarice and injuſtice—it has been contemned for a patience which no ignominy could arouſe to reſentment.

The conduct of England has been equally impolitic and cruel. It has been impolitic from two cauſes: firſt, becauſe the depreſſion of the commerce of Ireland is injurious tō Britain;* and next,

* England and Britain are put one for another in this pamphlet, and uſed as ſynonimous terms.

next, becauſe the reſtrictions on this article in particular, have recoiled increaſed evil on it's envious framers.

The firſt reaſon I have aſſigned for conſidering the conduct of England impolitic, I have endeavoured to prove under the head of the commerce of Ireland. That which remains, being the principal object of this eſſay, I ſhall now attempt to illuſtrate.

The moſt judicious Engliſh writers on trade* have been of opinion, that opening the woollen trade of Ireland, would be of advantage to this kingdom. This they prove from the following obvious argument. France is the great rival of England in the woollen trade. She cannot carry on this important branch of her traffic without the aſſiſtance of Iriſh wool. The Iriſh are compelled to diſpoſe of their wool to France, becauſe the prohibition of England denies them the liberty of it's manufacture; therefore the concluſion is inevitable, that whenever the Iriſh are enabled to reſume the right of Nature, they will manufacture all their wool, and the French will conſequently be no longer able to procure it; this formidable competitor will have her induſtry relaxed, and England will at length diſcover, that Iriſh proſperity will rather irradiate than darken the glory and happineſs of the empire.



* Sir Joſiah Child, Sir M. Decker, Poſtlethwaite, &c.

The confined limits of this temporary work will not permit me to prove in detail the various propoſitions of this argument, I ſhall content myſelf with a few curſory remarks, which, I hope, will tend to elucidate this ſubject.

When the plague raged at Marſeilles, the demand for Engliſh woollen cloth, to ſupply the Turkey, German, Portugal and Spaniſh trades, was incredible, and afforded the moſt convincing proof of the large proportion of the conſumption of theſe markets the French had been accuſtomed to ſhare.

The wool of France is ſhort and coarſe, being, in the language of the manufacturers, neither fine in the thread nor long in the ſtaple. This obliges them to have recourſe to the wool of Ireland, which poſſeſſes both theſe qualities. Aided by a pack of Iriſh wool, the French are enabled to manufacture two.

The arm of vindictive penalty has been ſtretched out, and the coaſts of Ireland have been guarded by Engliſh cruiſers without effect, to reſtrain the exportation of Iriſh wool. There is a ſpirit in ſome articles of commerce, which diſdains it's ſhackles. The hand of illiberal power may erect it's envious but unavailing mounds, the tide of traffic will ſtill burſt over it's feeble aud impotent barriers.

Thus the wool of Ireland, in deſpite of theſe artificial entrenchments, finds it's way to enrich

our

our foes. England cannot manacle the trade of other countries; but if ſhe cannot be unjuſt to all, ſhe will be unjuſt where it is in her power. In exerciſing the ſword of reſtraint againſt a friend, ſhe opens an avenue to the market for a natural enemy.

It is by a cultivation of the woollen manufacture, and cauſing a market to be opened at home, that the French would be deprived of this important ſupply. It is the intereſt and natural rights of the people which ſet theſe laws at defiance, abate the meaſure of that intereſt, and the laws will be obſerved.

If England was the only country engaged in the woollen manufactory, policy might poſſibly direct the hand of reſtraint, whenever it could be exerciſed, in order to encircle this art from the knowledge of the world. It might then have been preſerved, with a monkiſh piety, as the only fountain, to which the various nations who are the object of it's demand, might reſort for ſupply.

But the ſting of calamity, muſt excite a more exquiſite ſenſibility, when the injuries endured, by an unfortunate people, afford no real advantage to thoſe profeſſing friends, by whom they are inflicted.

Would not France, at the various foreign markets, feel the effect of the Iriſh woolen manufacture, as ſeverely as England? would ſhe not be more materially injured, as her cheapneſs frequently

quently compenſates, for the want of ſtability in her woollen productions? would it not heighten her diſtreſs, if together, with this effect, ſhe no longer could procure Iriſh wool to quality her ſtaple?

If there was a province in France, where the woollen trade could be conducted with extraordinary advantage, which would in it's effects curtail, if not, annihilate the woollen trade of England; what opinion ſhould we entertain of the policy of that country, if to gratify another province, a few miles nearer the capital, it ſhould be reſtrained, by royal edicts, from applying itſelf to induſtry, and peculiarly prohibited from engaging in a manufacture, for which, by nature, it was eminently qualified. Suppoſe this unhappy province remarkably populous, loyal, but periſhing under the weight of the fetters, which had been impoſed on it's induſtry, could we refrain from exclaiming at the partiality, the impolicy, the barbarity and ignorance of their goverment. Would not England triumph at a conduct, which ſeemed calculated for her particular intereſt? whilſt ſhe rejoiced at the imbecility and weakneſs of ſuch a government, if ſhe was not abandoned to every feeling of humanity, would not even the tear of pity darken her eye, at beholding a brave, but oppreſſed people, ſacrificed at the ſhrine of provincial inhumanity?

Let

Let us reverſe this picture, and ſee if the mirror does not reflect our own image. It is ſufficient—it ought—it muſt awaken the good ſenſe of this country.

When the ports of Ireland are opened for the exportation of her woollen manufacture, the next conſideration is to revive the national ſpirit of induſtry in this branch, and give vigour and permanency to the manufacture.

For this purpoſe, two things appear to me of much importance, in producing this effect: firſt, that a board in imitation of the truſtees of the linen manufacture ſhould be eſtabliſhed, by authority of parliament, with an ample revenue to be appropriated in premiums, for the encouragement of the manufacture in all it branches: next, that the ſeat of the woollen manufacture ſhould be removed from the capital. It is a ſoleciſm in policy, to carry on ſuch a manufacture in the metropolis. Dublin may be the market for it's ſale, but it ſhould be the laſt place in Ireland for it's production. The woollen manufacture of this country is eſtabliſhed in York, the cheapeſt county in England. What would be the ſtate of the linen manufacture, if it was dependant on the efforts of Dublin manufacturers? have we not ſeen the feeble remains of it, that once ſubſiſted in that city, linger for a long time, and at laſt expire?

This obſervation is ſo obvious, that to purſue it farther

farther is almoſt ſuperfluous. But I ſhall make a few other remarks. The manufacturers either have employment, or have not. If the woollen, manufacture has at any time felt a demand, theſe artificers become inſolent, idle, and inſiſt on higher wages: they work two or three days inſtead of five or ſix. They engage in illegal combinations, and grown frenzical by intoxication, make the city tremble for it's ſafety.

If they want employment, what a melancholy ſcene is preſented to our eyes! twenty thouſand unhappy wretches, without money, or credit, periſhing from want. The ſtreets and roads covered with the feeble remains of ſome times decent, but miſerable men, ſoliciting charity.

The linen manufacture is expoſed to all the variety and fluctuation of demand, attendant upon commerce, but the direful effects we have deſcribed are not experienced in their full extent. The poor may receive leſs for their labour, or their web of cloth may return unſold from the market, but they have ſtill an alternative from abſolute want, in the produce of their little farm, or the ſupply of their garden.

If the manufacture was eſtabliſhed in ſome cheap fertile country, the artiſans would be detached from each other, they could no longer engage in thoſe deſtructive combinations, which make the means of ſupply caſual and uncertain,

and

and which dry up the fountain of national induſtry.

Vegetables, and many other articles, which the poor ſubſiſt on, are dearer in Dublin than in London; the advantage derived from the cultivation of their own vegetables, together, with a removal from the pernicious uſe of ſpirits, would render the manufacturers healthy and happy, inſtead of diſgracing Ireland, by a diſplay of wretchedneſs and inebriety, which is ſcarcely to be equalled in all Europe; the manufacture itſelf would reach a point of perfection and cheapneſs, which would recommend it at home without patriotiſm, and abroad without intereſt.

The conſumption of Ireland alone, would employ about one hundred thouſand perſons.* This obſerva-

* Suppoſe Ireland to contain two millions of people and an equal number of each ſex.

| | |
|---|---|
| One half males, at an average, 15 ſhillings per year | £.750,000 |
| The other at do. 4 ſhillings do. | 200,000 |
| Conſumption of Ireland - - | 950,000 |

If we ſhould alſo ſuppoſe that each perſon employed in the woollen manufacture, earns 10l. per year, the number of perſons neceſſary to ſupply the conſumption alone, would amout to ninety five thouſand.

The whole produce of wool at preſent in Ireland, may be eſtimated at 500,000 ſtones. It is now at 9s. per ſtone, let us call it 10s. it's value would then be 250,000l. a piece of woolen cloth, properly finiſhed, is generally valued at five times the coſt of it's material, from the acceſſion of labour. This would produce, ſuppoſing all the wool of Ireland to be manufactured, no more than

obſervation alone, is ſufficient to ſhew that Dublin cannot be the ſeat of the manufacture in a ſtate of improvement, and therefore, as the firſt ſtep towards it, let the manufacturer be invited into the country by national bounty.

The Iriſh woollen warehouſe in Dublin, which has been happily converted from a retail ſhop into a wholeſale market, will then require to have its bounds enlarged. The inhabitants of Dublin may not be altogether ſo numerous, but thoſe who remain in it will be more proſperous and happy.

## *Of the Coal Trade.*

IRELAND poſſeſſed of numerous coal mines, is indebted to England and Scotland for that neceſſary article. I * compute that one thouſand ſail of colliers deliver their cargoes annually in different ports of that kingdom; eſtimating each veſſel to carry two hundred tons, and the average price ſixteen ſhillings per ton; we have a ſum of near two hundred thouſand pounds, withdrawn in ſpecie yearly.

A colliery has been opened many years at Ballycaſtle, a ſmall town ſituated at the extremeſt northerly

ſhan 1,250,000l. The ſurplus manufacture which remained for exportation, would therefore be no more than 300,000l. which even on this ground, proves, that England has little to apprehend from the Iriſh at foreign markets.

* In the year 1761, 121,994 tons of coals were imported into Dublin.

northerly point of the kingdom. The parliament of Ireland hath lent it's aid in vain, to give ſome ſpirit to this undertaking. The port is dangerous, at all ſeaſons, and almoſt inacceſſible in winter. The firſt veſſel,* which ſome years ago, arrived at Dublin, laden with coals from this place, was received by the whole city with acclamations. They conſidered her as the happy forerunner of an influx of coals at a reaſonable rate, and a preſervative againſt the continued drain of the ſpecie of the kingdom for Britiſh fuel. But the natural difficulties of navigation, having never received a complete remedy, this coal mine, together with ſeveral others in different parts of the kingdom continue to extend their influence within a narrow internal circle.

At Dungannon, in the county of Tyrone, ſeveral coal pits are opened under the direction of a Mr. Du Carte. Poſſeſſed of a great mechanical genius, this gentleman undertakes uncommon things, with a ſurprizing appearance of ingenuity, but without always proving ſucceſsful. A navigation had been projected, to convey coals from theſe mines to join the Newry canal; in the proſecution of this work, a hill intervened. A vulgar engineer would have either carried the navigation round the hill, or, like the Duke of Bridgewater, pierced through it; but Mr. Du Carte conceived an expedient of a different kind; he undertook to relinquiſh the aid of water,

 which

* From the year 1761 to 1763, 2731 tons of coals were imported into Dublin, from Ballycaſtle,

which he left at the bottom of the hill, and attempted to raiſe barges, full laden with coals, by a particular mechanical force, upon rollers, to the ſummit of this elevation, and by the ſame contrivance, enable them to deſcend into the canal upon the other ſide. The great road to Dungannon paſſes along the brow of the hill, it was therefore neceſſary, to erect an arch for the aſcent of the veſſels, which the traveller could paſs under on horſeback. A great wheel, whoſe centrifugal power was intended to attain the meaſure of force for exalting the immenſe weight of his full laden veſſels, the courſe by which they were to aſcend, and all the reſt of the apparatus of this unexecuted enterprize, continue to ſtand a monument of eccentric ability without foreſight, and to deſerve the appellation applied to it, by the country people, of being *Du Carte's Whim.*

He has not been, however, unſucceſsful in all his undertakings. In the true parade of Iriſh inland navigation, he has erected an aqueduct for conveying the canal along a deep valley, through which a conſiderable river holds it's courſe, compoſed of ſtone of a fine quality, quarried near this place. It preſents to the eye a front, beautifully embelliſhed, repreſenting Egyptian marble. Here the barges are to glide over

In the year 1750, a Committee of the Houſe of Commons reſolved, that the Collieries in the county of Tyrone, were equal to the ſupply of the conſumption of Dublin.

over the aquaduct, whilſt the river is running thirty or forty feet underneath.

Theſe coal mines ſupply the neighbouring towns with this article, but until the navigation is completed, no benefit can be derived from them to the kingdom at large.

Ireland will never be able to furniſh herſelf with coals, whilſt the influence of England prohibits any taxation upon her fuel. * A coaſting voyage is generally more tedious, as well as dangerous, than the run from Whitehaven to Ireland. The infinite application of mechanical force in England, from the ſuperior opulence, or poſſibly the ingenuity and induſtry of the inhabitants, gives a permanent and extenſive advantage over the efforts of the Iriſh in all works where great labour is required.

If Ireland had a ſpirit of induſtry infuſed into her people, by the enjoyment of a commercial liberty, ſhe might ſoon be enabled to furniſh herſelf with an article diffuſed throughout her own ſoil; ſhe might alſo extend it to an exportation highly advantageous. It would found a nurſery for ſeamen, increaſe her ſhip-building, and ſpread a general vigor thro' her manufactures.

*Of*

* I think a bounty of three or four ſhillings per ton, granted on the importation into Dublin of Iriſh coals, would be a judicious meaſure.

## *Of the Fiſhery.*

THIS article ſhould form one of the moſt ſplendid figures in the picture of Iriſh commerce. Parliament ſenſible of the immenſe value of this ſource of wealth, have been liberal in it's encouragement. Bounties have been granted to veſſels of a certain tonnage, that continue on the herring fiſhery—when the fiſh arrive at market, the merchant is again invited to export them by another bounty, payable on receiving a certificate of their being landed, in any foreign place, or in any of our ſettlements.

Theſe advantages have not been held out in vain, the great markets of the kingdom are ſupplied with herrings, on terms particularly favourable to the poor, who being chiefly Roman catholicks, are from religious obſervance, obliged to live the greateſt part of the year on fiſh. Large quantities have been exported to the Madeiras and the Weſt Indies.

Theſe herrings, either from their rich luxuriant quality, or an imperfection in their cure, ſeldom continue long in warm climates, in a ſtate of preſervation. A contingency of this kind, where the outward freight exceeds the bounty, hath much reſtrained the adventurer; beſides, in the Weſt Indies, the planter giving a certain number of herrings to his negroes, derives an

advantage

advantage from the ſmallneſs of the Norway herring, the number of each kind in a barrel, being generally in the proportion of five to ſeven,

The herring fiſhery carried on by the Dutch, at a conſiderable diſtance from their coaſts, has been always deemed the principal ſource of their greatneſs. The induſtry, frugality and perſeverance of this people, have ſurmounted the difficulties of ſituation, and enabled them to drain the liquid element of a treaſure, which annually viſits the inhabitants of Britain and Ireland with little advantage.

This great branch of traffic, which the Dutch have monopolized, amounts to many millions yearly. It finds ample employment for an amazing variety of different artiſans, &c. the ſhip builder, the ſmith, the net maker, the cooper, and all the branches attendant on theſe occupations, are indebted to this extenſive trade. It is the opulence of this commercial people, which enabling them to accept of ſmall profits, carries them triumphantly forward in this tide of traffic.

The conduct of Holland at this juncture, would juſtify a ſpeculation, that Great Britain will not always permit that country to continue to reign unmoleſted in this commerce. It is time ſhe ſhould ſhew a faithleſs ally, that ſhe will not ſacrifice a real benefit, for an unprofitable alliance. If Holland would expect the generoſity, the friendſhip, the protection of Britain,

ſhe

ſhe ſhould endeavour to merit it by gratitude and affection.

If this trade ſhould ever be relinquiſhed by the Dutch, it would transfer to the Scotch and Iriſh, a ſtimulus to induſtry and exertion, that would highly enhance the property and power of theſe countries.

In Ireland, together with the immenſe ſhoals of herrings that appear on her coaſts, ſhe poſſeſſes alſo on the weſt ſide of the iſland a valuable cod fiſhery. An ignorance of the method of cure, confines the extent of this fiſhery to the internal conſumption of the kingdom.

It will be worthy the conſideration of an Iriſh parliament, deſirous of applying a remedy to the diſtreſſes of their country, to conſider of ſome expedients for the further extenſion of this trade. Premiums ſhould be offered for the beſt method of curing fiſh. The cod fiſhery deſerves particular attention, and a conſiderable bounty ſhould be granted on the exportation of this laſt article.

A few years ago, a public company was inſtituted in Dublin, for the purpoſe of carrying on the fiſhery. I am not enabled to ſpeak of the event of this undertaking, but as the plan was judiciouſly framed, if it has been executed with ſpirit and integrity, I entertain little doubt of the company's ſucceſs.

*Of*

In the year 1762, the quantity of herrings imported into Ireland, amounted to 23,233 barrels; the exportation only to 5,101 barrels. This proportion has been much changed for ſome years.

## *Of Agriculture and Emigration,*

AGRICULTURE ſhould be the primary manufacture of every country. If the ſoil is not fertile, it ought to be cultivated for ſubſiſtance; if rich and luxurious, as the means of paying for the ſuperfluities of other nations.

This manufacture waits for no precarious return, but carries in itſelf the labourer's reward. In the eaſt, the policy of the country, makes the cultivation of the land an article of religion. The extent of population renders the exertions of an uſeful induſtry indiſpenſible.

It was in the reign of Henry the IV. that the Duc de Sully introduced a general ſpirit of agriculture into France; that kingdom, from the vigor of this principle, acquired a population and wealth which enabled Lewis the XIV. to awe Europe. This monarch, famous for the temporary ſplendor of his reign, and for the ruin which a falſe ambition produced, ſupplanted agriculture for the ſake of manufactures. Colbert actuated by the impetuoſity of his nation, dazzled by the glare of the arts he eſtabliſhed, ſuffered agriculture to languiſh in obſcurity. A few years experience, undeceived the French nation. When famine in all it's horrors ſtalked amongſt them, and the unhappy people

people clamoured for bread, the neceſſity of a different ſyſtem was perceived and adopted.

It is but a few years ſince Ireland was dependant upon foreign countries for corn; each revolving year * brought with it either a real famine, or the melancholy apprehenſions of want. The chief return from America, for her linen cloth was in flour; and in one year, Ireland imported corn to the amount of nearly half a million. This mighty burthen alone, was ſufficient to cruſh a kingdom in the infancy of arts and manufactures; it was an evil ſo flagrant, as not to eſcape the public attention.

To a ſociety,† whoſe generous efforts in behalf of their country, all honour and reſpect is due, the Iriſh are indebted for the rapid progreſs of a general cultivation of their lands. Premiums have been extended, with a judicious and munificient hand, to tillage, under their patronage. John Wynne Baker, an Engliſhman, carried on a courſe of experiments, with honour to himſelf, and advantage to the country. Machines for expediting manual labour were formed under his inſpection. Theſe were ſold at a moderate price, and a general knowledge of the farming art was diffuſed, and enlightened the kindom.

To a genius profound, ſubtle and penetrating, this gentleman poſſeſſed an induſtry which no difficulties could relax; he conſidered the taſk appointed

* In the year 1729, the importation of corn into Ireland, amounted to near 200,000l.

† The Dublin Society.

appointed him, not as a dull round of duty which muſt be performed, but with a fervor of patriotiſm which would do honour to the founder of a ſtate. His laſt cares were directed to the proſperity and welfare of the kingdom. This ſmall tribute I willingly pay to the memory of a man, whoſe character from the mediocrity of his ſituation has not been ſufficiently revered.

The great maxim which ſhould regulate every undertaking, that comprehends the general induſtry of a people, is to provide a market for the efforts of their labour. One obvious, but wiſe expedient, has together with the cauſes we have enumerated, effected a wonderful revolution. The market of Dublin, by a ſimple operation, has been brought within the vincinity of each farmer, for ſixty miles round. A bounty on the carriage of corn, from all parts of Ireland to Dublin, exceeding ten miles diſtance, like ſome potent charm, hath converted many a dreary uncomfortable waſte into fields, cloathed with the rich produce of a bounteous harveſt. Flour mills have been alſo erected throughout the kingdom; here the farmer, as his neceſſities demand a ſale of his wheat, is ſure to find a ready money market: his wants are even frequently anticipated by an advance of money, long before his grain is prepared for the mills.

Thus a regular and permanent ſupply of grain has been at length eſtabliſhed. The nation experiences the ſweets of this improvement at the preſent hour of calamity: proviſions of every kind are far from being dear; it is to a ſtagnation of trade, which no longer circulates amongſt the poor, the means of purchaſe, that their diſtreſſes are chiefly to be attributed.

When the American war commenced, the cultivation of grain, was then haſtening to it's preſent perfection. The Iriſh nation ſhould be grateful to the divine benignancy, which prepared the way for this great event, by exciting a ſpirit of induſtry which has preſerved the kingdom from all the horrors of famine and conſumate miſery.

The advantages reſulting from this important change, ſhould counterbalance, it might be apprehended, many of the evils the Iriſh endure. At firſt ſight this appears a propoſition which could not be denied, but a little conſideration will evince, that this great benefit has been attended with an injury, growing with its growth, and ſtrengthening daily with it's increaſe.

About twenty or thirty years ago, the arable and paſture lands of Ireland were let at an average at five ſhillings per acre. The inhabitants were ſupine ſlothful and indolent; their induſtry was not called forth either by the clamour of demand, or the invitation of profit. Ignorant

of

of the art of cultivation, one miſerable crop was followed by another, ſtill worſe, or perhaps by an entire failure. Thus the wretched farmer ſtarved over a fertile ſoil. Spiritleſs, or precluded by poverty, he purſued the common track without deviation; with the bigotry of an irrational devotion, he depended on Heaven alone, for that produce which could only be derived from the efforts of a well directed labour.

On the firſt dawn of improvement, the value of lands roſe apace; they were ſucceſſively at ten, twenty and thirty ſhilling per acre: near the chief towns, their price advanced far beyond all bounds of ſpeculation: ſix, eight or ten pounds per acre, is the uſual price in the neighbourhood of Dublin. Men poſſeſſed of a ſmall capital, ſpeculated upon the purchaſe of lands, and great fortunes were thus acquired. The rent roll of Ireland was trebled in the courſe of a few years.

Many unhappy conſequences have flowed from this ſudden revolution. The farmer has been tempted by the proſpect of an improvement, which at firſt ſeemed infinite, to undertake a rent, which he is unable to diſcharge: his poultry, his butter, his ſtock of all kinds, muſt go to market to ſatisfy an inhuman landlord: with a multiplied produce before him, he

he has the melancholy ſpectacle of beholding it paſs thro' the hands of his family, whilſt guarded by a dire neceſſity, they have not courage to partake of the bounty, which Heaven ſeems ſo liberally to have provided.

The landlord elated by an acceſſion of income, which lifts him from a careful œconomy in the country, up to the ſplendor of a town reſidence, can no longer be reſtrained in the arrogance of his demands; his ſituation makes him vain, and his neceſſities tyrannical: if his miſerable tenant, by the exertion of an unwearied induſtry, is able to pay his rent, in a few years he muſt increaſe it, or his land is advertiſed to be let, and ſecret propoſals are ſolicited; terrified by the apprehenſion of being driven from the ſoil, which his family hath for many generations lived on, he ventures to meet the avarice of the landlord, but a few years experience reduces him to beggary, and he flies with his family, calling on Heaven to witneſs the cruelty of an unrelenting tyrant.

Some landlords unwilling to be the immediate inſtruments of torture, turn their tenants over to an abandoned ſet of men, called jobbers; theſe perſons take a large portion of land into their hands, and let it out to a number of wretched people named cotters. In the breaſt of the principal, ſome drop of pity and commiſeration might

might poſſibly be found, but theſe miſcreants are ſteeled againſt every feeling of humanity. A hovel in which there is no chimney—the common reſidence of the family and their cattle, without apparel, except a few rags to cover their nakedneſs, their food potatoes, are the only accommodations which theſe unfortunate beings are admitted to reach.

At this place I ſhall beg leave to make ſome further reflections. The ſubject is important which comprehends the welfare and happineſs of that valuable claſs of men who are employed in tilling the land.

In England, lands are very generally held by the immediate occupiers by copy of court roll. This is a valuable tenure, which aſſuring to the tenant and his poſterity a certain poſſeſſion, ſubject to particular fines, which are either aſcertained, or reaſonable, hath proved the ſureſt ſtimulus to a uſeful induſtry. Where they are holden otherwiſe, as for term of years, or as freeholds not of inheritance, on the expiration of theſe eſtates, they are in almoſt every inſtance renewed on eaſy and moderate terms. The Engliſh landlord would deſpiſe the man who covertly and inſidiouſly endeavoured, by the overture of a little additional rent, to deprive his neighbour of ſubſiſtance. He would behold with indignation the ungene-

rous

rous attempt to expoſe ſome venerable old man, like an ancient withered oak, to the tempeſt of the world, when bowed down with age and infirmity—To turn him and a numerous family, whom he had trained up to the virtuous labour of the field, to ſeek for ſome hoſpitable roof, who had been inſtructed to conſider themſelves in a poſſeſſion, which a benevolent landlord would continue to their ſons and daughters—But above all, he muſt deteſt himſelf, if he did not inſtantly ſpurn the mercenary wretch from his preſence for ever.

Theſe are the cuſtoms which have rendered the Engliſh yeomanry ſubſtantial and reſpectable. Farming is an honourable, becauſe it is a lucrative employment. The wealth of the kingdom, like a healthful circulation, is not confined to the noble parts, but is univerſally diffuſed. The opulence of the huſbandman enables him to apply all the power which ingenuity has deviſed to give vigour to the arm of induſtry.

It is to the tyranny, the inhumanity and the impolicy of landlords, that an emigration began in the north of Ireland, which threatened to depopulate the country. This induſtrious manufacturing people, invited by a clime, where liberty flouriſhed, and where oppreſſion had not yet taken root, continued to remove with their

families,

families, with a ſilent but painful regret. Emigration languiſhed for a conſiderable time. For the proſpect of happineſs abroad muſt be ſure and immutable, or the anguiſh at home poignant and intolerable, when a man, with his family, give up their friends and connections—the attachments of youth and maturity—their natal ſoil—to venture into unknown regions, at an immenſe diſtance. But the moment arrived, when the ſtreams, that murmuring deſcended over the rocks, ſhould be changed into a mighty torrent rolling from the mountains.

About ten years ſince, a nobleman (Lord Donnegall) viſited Ireland for the firſt time, in order to renew the leaſes of his eſtate, which, in general, had expired. When he arrived at Belfaſt, a ſpirited commercial town, conſiſting of above ten thouſand inhabitants, he was received by peals of acclamations, as if ſome God had deſcended to bleſs the world. In his ſuite was a gentleman, a Mr. Talbot, who acted, as appeared afterwards, in the character of his miniſter.

When the firſt tumult of rejoicing was over, for their gracious arrival, the great buſineſs was entered upon, which had induced his lordſhip to viſit this country. His immenſe eſtate was derived from an anceſtor, Arthur Chicheſter, who had aſſiſted in the original reduction of Ulſter. This great and then happy town, part

of

of Carrickfergus, famous for it's defence in the laſt war—together with an infinite tract of land in the counties of Antrim, Down and Donegall, compoſed the property of his lordſhip in Ireland.

A ſcene now opened itſelf, novel in it's appearance and ſingular in it's effects. The tenants were encouraged to bid againſt each other. A ſpirit of intrigue, apprehenſion, and jealouſy was excited—fines were introduced—the little earnings of a ſtruggling induſtry were now ſacrificed to an inſatiable avarice. In the ſpace of a few months, Lord Donnegall drained that part of the kingdom in which his eſtate lay, of upwards of one hundred thouſand guineas in ſpecie. His partizan, Mr. Talbot, for his ſhare, acquired in the ſame time, it has been affirmed, about twenty thouſand. The income of his lordſhip's eſtate, by the various arts which had been exerciſed, was now increaſed near threefold.

I willingly acquit his lordſhip, and do not attribute to him any intention to ruin this fine country. It is upon Talbot's head I would pour the ſtream of execration—It is againſt him that I would direct the laſt burning ſighs of the families who periſhed in the ſultry ſwamps of Carolina.* Like ſome fiend, he ſkulked

* The emigration from the north of Ireland, was chiefly to South Carolina, where from the unwholeſomeneſs of the climate great numbers died.

ſkulked from a people he had ruined, hugging himſelf in the fatal miſchiefs he had occaſioned; but followed by the ſtings of a conſcience, which muſt prove an eternal accuſer.

A ſpirit of turbulence and diſaffection, for the firſt time, now ſhowed it's head in this province, ſince it was peopled by proteſtants. The town of Belfaſt was attacked by an enraged multitude. They burned the houſe of an eminent merchant who had taken a large portion of lands from his lordſhip; and they threatened devaſtation to many others. They were compoſed of perſons who were either driven from their lands, or of thoſe who had been compelled to promiſe more than they could render for them; they aſſumed to themſelves the appellation of *Hearts of Steel*, and proceeded to take revenge on all whom they deemed their enemies. Every day brought advices of houſes being burned—of compulſory oaths adminiſtered—and of ſome new diſorders which had not been heard of before. Conſidered as zealots for liberty, and commiſerated as the objects of a ſevere oppreſſion, the law could not reach their crimes. In deſpite of the cleareſt evidence, they were conſtantly acquitted in their vicinity. At length, a law was enacted, whereby they might be arraigned and tried in Dublin. Even this expedient proved ineffectual: a ſpirit was excited in

the capital in favour of the priſoners—they were held out as unfortunate people, who had ſtretched a juſt reſentment beyond the verge of the laws; and who were now, at the expence of the conſtitution, dragged to Dublin, far from their friends and connections, in order to be ſacrificed at the ſhrine of Tyranny. The evidence was full and concluſive againſt them, yet they were all acquitted. The populace conſidered this event as a victory gained over their enemies; and they were conducted from court in triumph.

At length the laws began to operate in one or two counties. The alarm now became univerſal—the ſpirit of emigration revived—the principals, their friends and connections hurried to the different ports of the kingdom.—Whole villages became waſte and deſolate; and this diſpoſition, which commenced with criminals, extended itſelf on all ſides, to the virtuous and induſtrious, as well as the idle and profligate. It was computed that, for ſeveral years after this period, not leſs than from twenty to thirty thouſand ſouls emigrated from the north of Ireland annually. It was a common practice for the pariſh and it's paſtor, or clergyman, to embark in the ſame ſhip, to ſhare in the ſame fortune.

Such was the temper and inclination of the people, when the American war commenced.

This

This unhappy conteſt has, for a time, ſtopped the courſe of this mighty river; but whenever peace is re-eſtabliſhed, it will break forth with redoubled fury. In a country where the inhabitants ſink under the weight of rigorous exactions; where labour is not permitted to taſte of the ſweets of it's own toil; this temporary reſtraint will ſtrengthen the deſire to emigrate, and the interdiction of America will be conſidered as the walls of a priſon.

When the artificer and the huſbandman, the farmer and merchant, withdraw from a country, I conſider it as haſtening forward to a ſure deſtruction. Theſe are the characters which conſtitute the ſubſtratum of a nation's proſperity; and when they begin to remove, it's career of fortune is nearly terminated.

The depopulation of a country being the greateſt calamity it can ſuffer, it might have been naturally expected, that it ſhould have been the object of a parliamentary enquiry. This ruinous emigration continued for years to ſhake the public exiſtence; and the legiſlature, either ſtunned at the magnitude of an evil, which they thought without remedy, or awake only to a private intereſt, diſtinct from the public good, beheld with a ſhameful ſilence this diſtemper of the ſtate every day become more ſtubborn and invincible.

If

If the cauſe of this political apathy had been enquired into, it would have appeared to have originated in the tyranny and impolicy of the legiſlators. The remedy was of a ſimple quality; but it claſhed with the gratification of either their avarice or extravagance; it was by exerciſing a ſpirit of moderation and benevolence to their unfortunate tenants—it was by relaxing the rigor of the demand, and accepting rather what ought to be given, than what the ignorance and neceſſities of the farmer might invite him raſhly to promiſe—it was by enabling the poor to live before the rich ſhould be luxurious, —that emigration would have been reſtrained, and the proſperity and happineſs of the people placed on an immutable baſis.

If it has been proved, that the cultivation of land, comprehends the moſt valuable intereſts of a country; that the avarice, the inhumanity, the miſconduct of land holders, not only impedes it's extenſion, but menaces agriculture itſelf with ruin: then the reaſon of human law ſteps in, which is to enforce by penalty, what is in vain preſcribed by duty.

Money, that univerſal ſign of property, has been reſtrained and prohibited from aſcertaining it's own price—it has been found expedient in every country, for the laws to interfere between the avarice of the holder, and the diſtreſſes of the borrower; this limitation is narrowed or extended,

extended, by the affluence or political neceſſities of a kingdom. If this great principle of policy has been applied to money, with equal, if not greater reaſon, it ſhould comprehend the uſe of land.

Why ſhould laws be enacted for the regulation of bread, and not limit the immoderate price of land, which enhances the value of that eſſential article?* Why ſhould laws ſubſiſt againſt foreſtallers, and regraters, and not interdict jobbers and the modern race of holders of rack rents.

It will be objected, that the value of lands being infinitely variable in quality, and dependant alſo upon a variety of local circumſtances, precludes any uniform reſtriction; but this objection is obviated with facility. It is no more than to adopt the policy of our laws, when it is neceſſary, for the ſake of ſome national benefit, to make a purchaſe of lands or houſes. The illiberality of individuals, their ſordid wiſhes, their thirſt of advantage muſt bend to the public good, and ſubmit to the value returned by the inquiſition of an impartial jury.

A committee of the Iriſh parliament ſhould be appointed, to enquire into the ſtate of agriculture in that kingdom; to examine into the price of lands, the complaints of the farmer, the cauſes of the late emigration, and the means to prevent it in future.

Of

* Corn is dearer in Ireland than in England.

## *Of the Import Trade of the City of Dublin.*

DUBLIN, the metropilis of Ireland, has been long ranked with the firſt cities in Europe, for extent, population and the elegance and ſplendor of it's private and public buildings; inhabited by near two hundred thouſand ſouls, the ſeat of vice-royal government—of the courts of juſtice—of a biennial aſſembly of parliament—it might be expected that adminiſtering to the neceſſities and luxuries of ſo many individuals, ſhould ſupply one great branch of an ample and beneficial commerce.

This city, ſome years ago, ſupplied the principal towns in the kingdom with teas, hops, ſugars, wines, and foreign ſpirits. It was then a great market to which the traders in the different towns reſorted for the purchaſe of theſe commodities, but a ſpirit of traffic having ſince ſprung up in the chief ports of the kingdom, the merchants in theſe places importing directly, no longer purchaſe in Dublin but when a temporary exigence, or the fluctuation of an article holds out ſome particular inducement.

The trade of Dublin conſiſts at preſent, Firſt, Of the importation from Britain of woollen cloth, haberdaſheries, ſilks, hardwares, &c.—Secondly,

ly, of teas, hops, ſugar, rum, and porter, and to bacco, rice, indigo.—Thirdly, Of rum, &c. from the Weſt-Indies—And fourthly, Wines, fruits, and brandy, from France, Spain, and Portugal, &c.

The ſhopkeepers in Dublin of the firſt claſs, are chiefly agents employed by the Engliſh, who are either allowed a commiſſion on the ſale, or are entitled to a ſmall ſhare in the advantage of the trade. Thus the very profit on the retail of Britiſh manufactures is remitted to England, together with the wholeſale coſt. The retail of her woollen manufacture is a buſineſs of little advantage in this city. The unfortunate traders in this branch are therefore permitted to ſtruggle unrivalled in this miſerable track. No Engliſhman envies this claſs of men, their long viſages—their diſtreſſes—their bankruptcies.

In the ſecond claſs we find merchants who are in the import trade.

Tea is an article of immenſe conſumption in Ireland. Every claſs and deſcription of people in towns, down to the wretch who ſolicits alms, uſe this favorite commodity. England in purſuance of her commercial regulation, and countenancing the monopoly of the Eaſt-India company, has prohibitted the importation of tea from all other places. In vain can bohea tea be purchaſed at Gottenburg or Dunkirk at 10d. per lb.

lb. for which the company charge from 2s. 4d. to 2s. 6d. or green tea from 22d. and upwards, for which they charge 4s. 3d. and 4s. 4d. and upwards, in the ſame proportion. Ireland is compelled by the long code of penal laws with which her ſtatute book abound, to give a company in England, from which ſhe derives no advantage, twice the value for a commodity of extenſive and univerſal conſumption.

This trade falls partly under the ſame obſervations we have made reſpecting the firſt claſs. It was formerly attended with a permanent and conſiderable profit to the merchant; but large quantities of tea being ſent on commiſſion by the Engliſh ſpeculators, who poſſeſſing an opportunity of adulteration—of ſubſtitution, and of the invoice advantage, they have been enabled to underſel the regular importer. To this may be added the indiſcretion of the merchants themſelves, who, by certifying as a wholeſale trader, every little vender of ſpirits, every inconſiderable grocer, who makes an application for this purpoſe, produce a mongrel ſet of traders who diſgrace commerce, and annihilate a reaſonable mercantile profit. Theſe men whom the merchant, in the dawning of their ſucceſs, when the ſcale of fortune ſtood ſuſpended, truſted with conſiderable riſque.—Whenever it has declared a little in their favor—as ſoon as they are become

become ſafe cuſtomers, manifeſt their gratitude by immediately becoming importers. Thus uniting their retail profit with a wholeſale advantage, they diſtreſs their fellow ſhopkeepers, cover their ſmuggled teas, and leave the merchant to deal with the unfortunate and needy.

Almoſt every merchant who has purſued this miſerable trade on his own account, has become a bankrupt. A ſale without profit, at an extenſive credit, to a ſuſpicious and dangerous claſs of men can have no other termination but bankruptcy and ruin.

The obſervation we have made on the grocer importing tea, will in ſome meaſure apply to hops. This article ſome years ago afforded the Dublin merchant a tempting object of ſpeculation. Increaſed in it's value two-fold by the arrival of a London mail, many merchants, by a judicious foreſight, or the contingency of the ſeaſon, have amply improved their fortunes. The ſupply for many years has however been too liberal to enhance the price from a temporary Iriſh ſcarcity, and when the London markets advance to a certain hight, an illicit importation of flemiſh hops, reſtrains a proportionate riſe, and will not permit it to aſcend to it's proper level.

The articles of ſugar and rum we ſhall reſerve for our remarks upon the Iriſh Weſt-Indian trade. We ſhall only obſerve, that the liquor ge-

nerally exported from London under the denomination of rum, is a combination of a corn ſpirit diſtilled at home, with a ſmall proportion of Weſt Indian rum. For ſome years the Dublin market for genuine rum ſuffered much from the obtruſion of this ſpurious fraudulent liquor. The diſcredit into which this article has fallen for ſome time from London, has happily, in a great meaſure, prevented the importation. The out ports have not been equally diſgraced by this avidity for gain, which does not ſcruple at adulteration and fraud to effect its wiſhes.

Porter I ſhall take notice of under the head of raiſing the revenue. I ſhall diſmiſs this ſubject with obſerving, that in this article alſo ſome London brewers employ their agents in Dublin for it's ſale.

The three articles of tobacco, rice, and indigo, the production of the ſouthern colonies in America, have been monopolized by Great-Britain. Glaſgow and Whitehaven ſupplied the Iriſh with tobacco, and London with rice and indigo. The northern part of Ireland hath contributed largely to the colonization of South Carolina. The moſt valuable part of her ſubjects have gone forth to people a country with which ſhe was not permitted to have any other

intercourſe

intercourſe but that which tended to her deſtruction.

Thus the only provinces in America worth fighting for were interdicted. The valuable part of that great continent produced no more commercial advantage to Ireland, than the colonies of France or Spain, or the dominions of the Chan of Tartary. Whilſt Ireland was thus treated as an alien, ſhe was compelled to be the inſtrument of enhancing an advantage which ſhe was prohibitted from enjoying. She has been obliged to accept of theſe commodities at the price impoſed by Britain, deprived of the miſerable conſolation of procuring them poſſibly at a cheaper European market.

Is it in this manner France treats any part of her dominions? Are any, even of her *conqueſts*, prohibited from trading with her ſettlements? the dull ey'd Spaniard has at length laid aſide ſome of his prejudices, and opened to other ports beſide Cadiz, the trade of South America.

Ireland hath beheld a country, to which nature hath been remarkably frugal, aſſume a new aſpect. Enriched by a commerce from which ſhe has been inhibited—the barren wilds—the niggard rocky ſoil—the humble cots of Scotland have diſappeared, to be happily exchanged for ſumptuous palaces—ſpreading groves—and the rich verdure of a blooming cultivation.

The

The merchants in Glaſgow have multiplied their capitals in tobacco ten times ſince the commencement of the American war. From 2d ½ per lb. the uſual price of that commodity, it has riſen to 22d. and 2s. If we ſuppoſe the ſtock in Scotland to have been worth 200,000l. at the beginning of hoſtilities, they have enhanced its value to two millions. France, Spain, and Holland, by the operation of the war, no longer had occaſion to reſort to Scotland, but found this valuable article flowing into their ports at an eaſy price. Ireland prohibited from purchaſing at their markets, has been the dupe of Scotch avarice. She has been almoſt the only cuſtomer to the Glaſgow merchant, and has given a clear profit on every 100l. of her immenſe conſumption of 90l.: this ſacrifice to the intereſts of Britain, will appear no inconſiderable cauſe of the preſent national diſtreſs of Ireland.

We have now to ſpeak of the Iriſh Weſt-Indian commerce. The beef, butter, herrings, and linen cloth of Ireland, are commodities peculiarly acceptable to the Weſt-India iſlands. Theſe articles are often bartered at the Madeiras for their wine, which gives the Iriſh merchant an additional favorite article for the Weſt-India market. The only return permitted by Great-Britain for the produce of theſe weighty commodities, is rum. The mahogany and pymento

mento of Jamaica are too inconſiderable to deſerve notice.

In the long train of reſtrictions on the trade of Ireland, I know of none more illiberal, fatal, and unjuſt, than the prohibition of ſugar. Theſe are ſome of the conſequences of this narrow malignant ſyſtem. It affords the Weſt-India merchant either a cauſe or an excuſe for his delay in remitting produce. Rum is too dear, or is not to be procured. A whole year elapſes, and in the interval the Iriſh merchant either ſtruggles with the diſappointment, or ſinks under it's weight. If rum is forwarded to the Iriſh market, he finds it overflowing with an immenſe importation, which either precludes a ſale, or if conſtrained by neceſſity, he forces one—he loſes on the home adventure half the firſt coſt.

Sugar comes to the Dublin market loaded with a commiſſion, with the various expences of warehouſe-room, carriage, &c. ; together with a new freight, inſurance, &c. on it's importation from Britain. All this is ſaved to the Britiſh manufacturer of refined ſugar ; aided by a liberal drawback, he deprives the Iriſh of the wretched privilege of preparing ſugar for their own conſumption.

Ireland claims a removal of this reſtriction upon every ground of juſtice and policy. The approaching enlargement of their trade muſt comprehend

comprehend this article, or it will appear that England trifles dangerouſly with the ſpirit and good ſenſe of that kingdom.

We ſhall cloſe our remarks upon this ſubject, by obſerving, that almoſt every merchant who has adventured largely into the Weſt-India trade from Dublin, has failed. He is on his firſt eſſay in this path amuſed with a liberal profit and a quick return. The practice of a ſharper is thus exerciſed on the unſuſpecting trader, who elated with his good fortune, extends his views, enlarges his riſque, until, to his utter aſtoniſhment, he is ſuddenly overwhelmed in bankruptcy and ruin. In vain he hath invoked the humanity, the juſtice of the Weſt-India merchant, to make him ſome return for his property. Deaf to every conſideration, but the call of private intereſt, he wraps himſelf up in his legal ſafety—and turns the periſhing merchant's fortune into a more profitable trade, with the Spaniſh main.

The Iriſh attribute this ſhameful diſregard of honour and integrity to the contagion of the climate, and manners of the people. Some of their countrymen, who have maintained a fair reputation at home, on removing into this ſeat of vice and profligacy, have become equally corrupt, and wanting in probity, even as the natives.

The northern ports employ the captains of their veſſels to diſpoſe of their cargoes, or ſend

out

out ſupercargoes; and this expedient has, in a great meaſure, preſerved them from this calamity.

Of the importation of French wines and brandy, we will make ſome remarks, when we treat of the effect of the preſent mode of raiſing the revenue. The wines of Portugal and Spain, being in general the return for our manufacture and produce, ought to be encouraged. The introduction of port wine into general uſe in Ireland, would deſtroy the vanity of that ſcandalous claſs of men, who indulge their pride and paſſion for inebriety, by drinking five bottles of claret every evening. The trade with theſe two laſt countries might be much enlarged in the linen branch. The diviſion of a piece of Iriſh linen into three parts, neatly lapped, is a facil method to encourage it's ſale in Spain.

The Dublin trade ſupports one or two ſhips in the Mediterranean, and the ſame number in the Dutch trade. Fruit and oils from Leghorn, being a return for Iriſh raw hides, and ſome linen cloth, conſtitute the principal materials of the former trade. With the Dutch an injurious trade is carried on for their geneva, manufacture of toys, &c. and flax-ſeed. This people, whoſe unremitting induſtry extracts the wealth of every country, take no article of the produce or manufacture of Ireland. Every diſcouragement conſiſtent with the neceſſities of the kingdom,

dom, ſhould therefore be extended to ſo ruinous a commerce.

On the whole then, theſe concluſions may be drawn. The trade of Ireland labours under many ſevere and injudicious reſtrictions. When public credit enables the merchant to engage in commerce, the narrowneſs of it's channel crouds adventurers into the ſame track—they claſh—they rival—they ruin each other. They have recourſe to various arts, when their property is annihilated in protracting their fall. At length the failure of a principal link of the chain diſſolves this artificial ſyſtem. The banks are alarmed—they refuſe to diſcount, and now unceaſing bankruptcy takes place.

Trade now ſeems to draw towards a final extinction. The few merchants that remain, with little property, and an unſtable credit, think themſelves happy, if by avoiding all mercantile undertakings, they can make good their engagements.

Such is the ſituation of this unfortunate city at preſent. Her deſerted harbour carries no other ſign of traffic, than the black and gloomy aſſemblage of Engliſh colliers. Commerce tempted by the delightful ſituation of this country, it's fertility, it's harbours, looked with wiſtful eye for that moment, when invited by freedom, ſhe might make it her reſidence; but wearied with expectation, diſguſted at her hard-

ſhips,

ſhips, ſhe ſeems at length to have taken a final, but reluctant farewell.

*Of the Effect of the preſent Mode of raiſing the Revenue of Ireland, on the Manners and Happineſs of the People.*

THE revenue of Ireland is chiefly derived from the cuſtoms on tobacco, wine, and ſpirits imported, together with the exciſe on the latter manufactured at home. Tobacco, altho' generally uſed as a luxury, is not pernicious in it's nature. In this it ſtands reverſed to ſpirits. The one is a ſuccedaneum to the mind, engaged in the laborious offices of life—the other, whilſt it oppoſes induſtry, diſtracts the underſtanding, and enervates and deſtroys the body.

Spirits have been ſo productive an article to the exchequer of Ireland, that the legiſlature have never ventured into any liberal meaſures, to reſtrain their baneful effects. They have perceived manufactures languiſh—combinations amongſt artificers grow head ſtrong and turbulent—ſloth and indolence attend the meagre wretches, conſumed by the depravation of conſtant inebriety, and have never yet applied a remedy to ſo ruinous a diſorder.

One third of the ſhops in Dublin are venders of ſpirits. The earnings of the multitude are

carried to theſe poiſonous fountains, and here they barter their health, and what ſhould be the ſupport of their families, for a temporary madneſs unfitting them for labour.

The great profits reſulting from the ſale of this article, entices the moſt reſpectable ſhopkeepers to be inſtruments in debauching the manners, and vitiating the conſtitutions of their cuſtomers; they are the only perſons in general, who grow opulent, and ſome of the greateſt mercantile houſes in Ireland, have taken their origin from the infamous profits of retailing ſpirits.

The advocates for this pernicious practice, requires us to point out a tax of ſubſtitution. Periſh the ungenerous emolument that erects it's head upon the health and happineſs of a whole people! but the argument will receive a more deciſive anſwer. If on the ſale of ſpirits * amounting to one ſhilling, government receives two

* Rum is generally ſold in Dublin at the following wholeſale prices:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Jamaica from | 5s. 0d. to 5s. 3d. per gal. ſtand. | duty 2s 2d pr. gal. |
| Antigua | 4s. 4d. to 4s. 8d. ditto | |
| Barbardoes | 4s. 0d. to 4s 2d. ditto | |
| Grenada | 4s. 8d. to 4s. 10d. ditto | |

Theſe rums are generally retailed from 8s. to 12s. per gallon.

French brandy from 6s. 8d. to 7s. 6d. per gallon wholeſale.

Whiſky from 2s. 8d. to 3s. 4d. per gallon do.

If a tax of twenty or thirty pounds yearly was laid on all perſons retailing ſpirits, before eight o'clock in the evening, might it not check this pernicious practice?

About 6000 puncheons of rum, and the ſame quantity of brandy, have been conſumed yearly in Ireland.

two pence, and the intoxication ariſing from this exportation, is a day of idleneſs; a loſs enſues from what the artificer would have afforded on that day's produce, equal to an additional tax; beſides the immenſe profit of, from fifty to one hundred per cent. which the retailers enjoy.

Why ſhould not a wholeſome malt liquor take the place of this malignant article? The Iriſh have malt uncommonly good and plentiful, and hops are nearly as cheap as in England; the latter article, for ſeveral years, has been at an uniform and eaſy price, offering the brewer all poſſible encouragement. But the cheapneſs of hops, and the low price of corn, has made no alteration either in the quality of their beer or it's price: their two-penny beer continues as before, ſpiritleſs, loaded and ſweet, without any invitation, whatever, to the palate. With the advantages the brewers poſſeſſed in a moderate exciſe, and the cheapneſs of the two principal ingredients, it might have been expected, they would have manufactured a liquor, at a little additional expence, that would have weaned the common people from their attachment to ſpirits. But the quick return of a beer, that in a week after brewing was put into a courſe of conſumption, ſuperceded public expectation, and left no hope in their ſpirit or generoſity. *

Thus

* There has been ſome late atempts to encourage the brewing

Thus ſpirits, aided by their cheapneſs, the force of uſage, and the momentary happineſs in which they wrap the miſerable, continue to walk uncontrolled, ſpreading a general devaſtation over this unhappy country.

The quantity of Engliſh porter conſumed in Ireland is prodigious. It is ſold generally at four pence, and ſometimes five pence, per quart. In a country where labour is cheap, a price like this, muſt preclude the inferior ranks from enjoying the benefit of a liquor, originally intended for their uſe. Some efforts have been made to produce Iriſh porter, but an opulent rival, conducting his buſineſs on an immenſe ſcale, is not to be affected by the efforts of a competitor hazarding a new undertaking, inexperienced in the proceſs, and deſtitute of a liberal capital: even the Scotch inſult the Iriſh with large exportations of their porter. Some attempts have been made in the Iriſh parliament to reſtrain this exceſs of importation, in order to encourage their own manufacture. But the influence of Britain continues to ſecure the monopoly; ſhe refuſes her conſent to the taxation of a favourite manufacture, without regarding the meaſure of benefit which would accrue to the Iriſh from ſuch an expedient.

The brawny laborious porter, and the robuſt and healthy artiſan of England, carry in their aſpect,

aſpect, a certain indication of a ſalubrious air, and a wholeſome courſe of living; contraſt them with the emaciated artificer of Dublin, with long and hollow viſage, whoſe trembling hand can ſcarely receive the alms which his miſerable appearance extorts from the humane and charitable, and a juſt concluſion may be drawn of the neceſſity of ſome immediate and effectual remedy.

Dr. Smith in his natural hiſtory of Dublin, has ſhewn, that within the laſt fifty years, ſince the introduction of ſpirits among the common people, that the number of females born, have conſiderably exceeded that of the male; the contrary before that period prevailed—the contrary ſubſiſts in every northern country, that is unſeduced by debauchery, or the pretended arts of refinement.

The conſumption of ſpirits ſhould, therefore, be reſtrained and abridged, whilſt that of malt liquor ought to be advanced and enlarged—the one ſhould be made agreeable to the people, and placed within their reach; the other enhanced in it's value, and rendered inacceſſible; in ſhort, the preſent order ſhould be entirely reverſed.

Having diſmiſſed the lower ranks, let us look a little upward. The hoſpitality of the Iriſh has been a copious ſource of panegyric. Several cauſes may be pointed out for the exerciſe of this truly

truly aimable quality: I call it aimable, however, in a ſenſe which cannot be extended to the general uſage of that country. I think the hoſpitality of Ireland may be traced to theſe cauſes; indolence—little intercourſe with ſtrangers—cheapneſs of proviſions and liquors—and laſtly, a love of diſſipation.

The two firſt cauſes will be readily admitted. Whether the native Iriſh inherit from their mileſian anceſtors, a tincture of Spaniſh pride and languor, or their want of application is a defect of opportunity, and a proper ſtimulus to induſtry, I will not determine. The low price of French wine, favours the diſſipation of the middling and ſuperior ranks, in the ſame degree as ſpirits have depraved the common people.

French wine pays no higher duty in Ireland than Portugal or Spaniſh wines. The conſumption of the former is therefore very great. Almoſt every merchant in Dublin is either wholly or partially in the wine buſineſs. This is another, but an artful ſpring of hoſpitality. The wine merchant who relies upon the integrity and candor of his dealing—the quality of his wines, and the moderation of his prices—will ſoon diſcover that he has been flattered by a deluſive expectation. He muſt, if he intends to proſecute this line with ſucceſs, entertain his friends and acquaintance to the utmoſt ſtretch of extreme debauchery. Poſſeſſed of a ſtrong head, the

wine

wine merchant fills bumpers, permits no perſon to flinch his glaſs; and having at length drank his company into a ſtate of utter inebriety, they are conveyed home; and if in the morning they recover without a violent head ach and fever, they applaud the wine, give credit to the hoſpitality of the merchant, and as an inſtance of their gratitude, order a parcel of his old claret, with which they may get drunk with the ſame ſucceſs. No man acquires a fortune in the wine trade, who has not ruined a good conſtitution.

French wines, from the ſmallneſs of their ſpirit, can be drank in large quantities. This devotes the whole evening to the charms of the table. It is very ſeldom that any mercantile buſineſs is tranſacted after dinner. The humidity of the air, and inceſſant rains, makes home delightful. It is in vain then to attribute to * hoſpitality

* I hope I ſhall ſtand excuſed from condemning a friendly, generous, rational reception, when I decry the inconſiderate and injurious hoſpitality which prevails in many parts of Ireland. It is in Connaught that this exceſſive feſtivity predominates; and it is well known, that the gentlemen of that country are oppreſſed with debts, refuſe juſtice to their creditors, and ſet the law at defiance. If induſtry was once eſtabliſhed, this vicious extravagance (which is often conſidered as a virtue, extended a little beyond it's limits) would ſoon be exploded, and liberality, tempered with diſcretion, ſubſtituted in it's place. Juſtice to creditors would not then be ſacrificed at the ſhrine of improvident generoſity. Many of the principal merchants in Dublin have become bankrupts, occaſioned by this ſpirit of diſſipation and extravagance. Their annual expenditure

lity, what is plainly derived from the natural temper of the people, and the facility with which it is gratified.

The intereſt of the legiſlature in countenancing their own vices, muſt be the true cauſe of their indulgence to claret. The immenſe value of that article, and of French brandy, is almoſt entirely diſcharged by bills on London. They export nothing to that country but, in time of peace, ſome cargoes of beef. The miſerable peaſants of Ireland ſubſiſt chiefly on potatoes and ſalt, in order that the beef, with which that fertile country abounds, may pay for the wine of France, and regale their tyrannical landlords. One of the beſt meaſures that could be deviſed for the benefit of Ireland, would be an additional duty of ten or fifteen pounds per ton on claret. This meaſure during the war is indiſpenſable. Every hogſhead that is now received in neutral veſſels, is a dead balance againſt that country.

The taxes in Ireland are moderate, if induſtry was awakened, and ſhe had a proper field for exertion. There is one, however, repugnant to liberty, and oppreſſive in it's exerciſe. This is

expenditure was uſually half their principal. The misfortunes of the laſt two or three years have, however, introduced a ſpirit of œconomy and attention, which may ſhed a gracious and vivifying influence on drooping commerce.

the

the tax upon hearths.* A tax which gives a right of entry into the inmoſt receſſes of the houſe; and which alarming the unfortunate cotter, as if a foreign enemy was at his door, hurries him into the fields with the few moveables he can convey from the relentleſs collector. William the III. aboliſhed this odious tax in England, upon his acceſſion. It would have been a judicious meaſure, if this benefit had been extended to Ireland.

The late ſtamp duties, introduced under the adminiſtration of lord Harcourt, have been very unpopular. I remember they were eſtimated at fifty thouſand pounds, but they did not produce much more than half that ſum. News papers were a luxury to a people naturally indolent, and who conſequently looked for news, with a proportionate avidity. They are beſides, repoſitories of knowledge, for the middling and lower ranks. They could not without regret, behold theſe favourite vehicles, trebled in their price. And the news paper editors dragg'd from their aſylums, re-echoed the murmurs of the multitude. I do not wiſh this part of the ſtamp duties to be increaſed. An impartial news paper is a fountain of liberty and knowledge, which I deſire to behold always acceſſible to the loweſt of the people.

* It amounts to about fifty-five thouſand pounds annually.

## *Of the Revenue of Ireland.*

ON this ſubject I ſhall be extremely conciſe. The fallen revenue of Ireland is the comment of every news-paper.

Before the acceſſion of his preſent majeſty, Ireland was nationally opulent. She was like a prudent man, poſſeſſed of a ſmall income, who manages it with œconomy and frugality. Almoſt exempt from debt, her exchequer, if not rich, was never exhauſted. The ſurplus of her revenue invited new appropriations for the improvement of her manufactures and commerce. Thus her linen trade ſprung up like ſome flouriſhing oak, which aided by the hand of attentive art, arrived at an anticipated maturity. The Dublin ſociety, the coal mines of Ireland, the charter ſchool, and a number of other public objects, partook of the munificence of parliament.

Since the laſt peace, this unhappy country has been the melancholy ſubject of a boundleſs rapacity and extravagance, which cannot be beheld without concern and indignation. Viceroys have been ſent over, as to another Roman Sicily, to repair their ruined fortunes, and gratify their partizans with the choiceſt ſpoils * of the

* In the long train of thoſe gentlemen, Sir John Blackquiere, ſecretary to the late lord Harcourt, is remarkable. He placed on the penſion liſt, his miſtreſſes and his partiſans; he enjoys

the kingdom. Tax has followed tax every ſucceeding ſeſſions, whilſt the debt of the nation continually accumulated.

The penſion liſt * intended to be the roll of public merit, has been converted into a waſteful proviſion for the worthleſs and undeſerving. The army has been augmented in a time of profound peace, upon a broken condition of the whole of it's force being kept in the kingdom for it's ſafety and defence. Places have been multiplied, and created for the purpoſe of procuring or preſerving a venal majority in parliament.

The trade of the kingdom labouring under heavy and unneceſſary reſtrictions, has been checked even in this confined ſtate, by the moſt fatal impolicy. The proviſion trade annihilated by an embargo, the linen manufactory curtailed and depreciated by the American war, the conſequent decline and bankruptcy of the merchants preſents one view of the ſtate of the kingdom, and it's revenue. The high price of tobacco, which has leſſened the conſumption of that article nearly two thirds, and the ceſſation of the importation of rum and foreign ſpirits; two ar-

enjoys the office of Alnager of Ireland, worth about a thouſand pounds per year; and obtained a grant of a large portion of the Phœnix park, which had been before appropriated for the recreation and health of the citizens of Dublin. Together with theſe advantages, he is ſuppoſed to have amaſſed a large ſum, from the emoluments of his ſituation. Whilſt he was in office, almoſt every appointment was ſet up to a political auction.

* Two years ago, it amounted to upwards of 100,000l. annually.

ticles the moſt conſiderable in the cuſtoms, lead us to another obvious ſource of a reduced revenue.

The eſtabliſhment and national expence of Ireland, is nearly a million annually. The revenue to defray theſe charges, was formerly approaching to and ſometimes meeting that expence, but is at this day only about half this ſum, The national debt is now nearly two millions.

Such is the ſimple outline of one of the moſt alarming and ſudden revolutions, in finance, which is to be found in modern hiſtory. If war had deſolated the country—if an enemy had blocked up its ports—if a rebellion had raged in the kingdom—Theſe are cauſes which muſt naturally and without exciting aſtoniſhment, produce this ruinous effect. But that the whole ſuperſtructure of the policy of a country, ſhould be founded upon ſuch miſerable and disjointed materials, as to periſh under their own weight, exhibits a mournful ſpectacle to the preſent age, and will poſſibly prove a uſeful leſſon to poſterity.

The voice of patriotiſm has often ſounded in miniſterial ears, without ſucceſs, this dreadful moment of national calamity. The penſioner —the placeman, the lawyer, the land holder, the merchant, are all equally involved in this univerſal wreck. The misfortunes of the kingdom have

have given a common cauſe, and patriotiſm now ſprings from the unhallowed ſoil of venality itſelf.

As the revenue has taken it's origin with commerce, and has periſhed with it—it is only by the revival of the latter, that the former can be reſtored. The Parliament of Ireland have juſtly conſidered a free trade as the firſt ſtep towards aleviating the diſtreſſes of their country. It will however require much zeal, patriotiſm, and attention to its commercial objects, to render it flouriſhing and happy.

The following is a ſhort ſtate of the national expence and income.

Dr.

From 1751 to 1753.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Civil liſt — | 143,705 | 0 | 8½ |
| Military —— —— | 762,571 | 7 | 7 |
| Sundries — —— | 110,426 | 10 | 5 |
| ☞ Paid of the national debt contracted in the preceding years | 120,000 | 0 | 0 |
| Balance to credit of the nation | 332,747 | 19 | 8½ |
| | 1469,450 | 17 | 10 |

Cr.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| By balance in the exchequer | 253,044 | 17 | 8½ |
| Nt. Revenue | 1216,406 | 0 | 1¼ |
| | 1469,450 | 17 | 10 |

In the year 1759.

Dr.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| To civil list —— | 181,969 | 15 | 1½ |
| Military eſtabliſhment — | 820,384 | 14 | 0½ |
| Sundries, concordatum, penſion liſt, &c. | 279,551 | 4 | 6½ |
| | 1,280,899 | 13 | 10½ |
| Balance in the exchequer, to credit of the nation | 84,396 | 7 | 9¼ |
| | 1,366,296 | 1 | 8 |

Cr.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| By balance in the exchequer, in 1757 | 249,422 | 15 | 4½ |
| Neat revenue — | 1,116,873 | 6 | 3½ |
| | 1,366,296 | 1 | 8 |

Note, In order to put the nation in a ſtate of defence, a vote of credit paſſed for raiſing 300,000 at four per cent. if found neceſſary.

From 1759, to 1761.

Dr.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Civil liſt —— | 202,352 | 19 | 4 |
| Military —— | 997,072 | 5 | 3 |
| Sundries —— — | 281,888 | 4 | 6½ |
| Exceedings —— | 18,622 | 3 | 1 |
| | 1,499,635 | 12 | 9½ |

Cr.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| By balance in the exchequer | 84,396 | 7 | 9¼ |
| N. revenue —— | 1,191,800 | 7 | 0½ |
| National debt —— | 223,438 | 17 | 18¼ |
| | 1,499,635 | 12 | 9½ |

From 1761 to 1763

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Civil liſt | | 221,365 | 12 4 |
| Military | | 1124,743 | 1 8 |
| Sundries | | 332,934 | 7 0¾ |
| National debt | | 223,438 | 17 11 |
| | | 1902,481 | 19 0¾ |

Cr.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| By Nt. revenue | 1381,320 | 3 | 2½ |
| National debt in 1763 | 521,161 | 16 | 7¾ |
| | 1902,481 | 19 | 0¾ |

Thus in every ſeſſions, the different branches, of national expence have been advanced, with the moſt unguarded profuſion, and the national debt conſtantly increaſed. Notwithſtanding every ſeſſions ſince 1763, except the laſt, new or additional duties have been impoſed.

The national debt in the preſent year:

| | £. | |
|---|---|---|
| In the laſt ſeſſion the national debt | 1061,000 | this account taken from the public prints |
| Loan and tontine - | 460,000 | |
| Deficiency of laſt 2 years ſuppoſed | 600,000 | |
| Preſent national debt | 2121,000 | |

The national eſtabliſhment ſhould be brought back to it's ſtate in 1753, when the revenue was equal to it's preſent produce, and all future exceedings in favour of the nation, ſhould be applied to the diſcharge of the national debt, and the promotion of trade and manufactures.

In 1763, when the national debt began to appear alarming—inſtead of diminiſhing unneceſſary expences, the commons reſolved "that no money would be granted for the encouragement or ſupport of any particular trade or manufacture whatever."

The preſent national expence is ſuppoſed to be 865,000l. annually, which exceeds the eſtabliſhment in 1759 232,050l. 3s. 0d. and in 1753 near 560,000 annually.

Of

## *Of a National Bank.*

CIVILIZATION carries with it, as it's inſeparable characteriſtic, the uſe of money. Wherever it is introduced, we may ſuppoſe the ſtate to have arrived at a conſiderable degree of refinement. The learned Monteſquieu obſerves, that the cultivation of lands, that important ſtage of improvement, has always produced a ſign of value.

The ordinary intercourſe of mankind, for the ſupply of their immediate perſonal wants, is ſufficiently anſwered by thoſe common ſigns of value in all nations, gold and ſilver. But the tranſmiſſion of theſe metals from one kingdom to another, having been found dangerous and inconvenient, and a property in them at home, caſual and hazardous, bills of exchange have been invented for the purpoſe of a facil and ſafe conveyance, and paper to aſſure a certain and portable poſſeſſion.

Paper being the repreſentative of a ſign, it preſumes it's value to be lodged in ſome ſafe depoſitory, to which acceſs can be always attained, for its exchange. Theſe receptacles are either private or public.

When an individual has acquired the reputation of extenſive property, whether it is real or ideal,

ideal, this acknowledgment of value is a ſign, that it ſubſiſts with him; and it is accordingly received with a current faith and confidence. To this repoſal of truſt we owe the origin of private banks.

A public bank differs from a private one in this important inſtance, that it's capital is known and aſſured. In this, the utmoſt faith is placed, for it is the public, which, in a particular degree, truſts itſelf: as it's material negotiations, it's profits and it's loſſes, are diſcloſed and avowed, each individual may poſſeſs the knowledge of a partner, and know the ſtability of the baſis on which his property reſts.

Private banks, in the enjoyment of public confidence, and the conſequent poſſeſſion of it's wealth, have been tempted by views of profit, to embark in great and extenſive ſpeculations; they have extended their engagements beyond the pale of diſcretion and ſafety; their private expences have been profuſe and extravagant, or, their original property confined and inſecure.

England has experienced a ſeries of misfortunes from the miſconduct of private banks, in all theſe ſeveral inſtances. The apprehenſions of individuals, extending their fears to all indiſcriminately, theſe private repoſitories have tottered to their foundation.

A public bank, conducted upon liberal and enlarged principles, ſtands upon a firmer ground. It is immutable as the ſtate itſelf. Shook by no danger, but when the public exiſtence is at ſtake, in the hour of private calamity, it affords a ſure refuge. The paſſing gale which diſturbs the unpillared edifices of private banks, ſerves but to ſtrengthen this mighty rock which upholds the public proſperity.

In every country where commerce flouriſhes, we find public banks. England, Scotland, Holland, Germany, Venice, Genoa, and many other commercial places have early adopted this national ſurety for their national wealth. They have experienced it's animating warmth—the vigour it communicates to commercial enterprizes—and the flowing opulence which it introduces.

When Lewis XIV. deſirous of deſtroying the Dutch republic, was near the gates of Amſterdam, the public faith continued ſo great in that celebrated depoſitum, that thoſe perſons, who, on the firſt alarm, had crouded to the bank, now returned the money they had received, as to the ſafeſt aſylum in that moment of danger.

The commerce of England has been increaſed three-fold ſince the inſtitution of it's national bank: it's paper is to the private Banker in this country, what caſh is in Ireland.

Ireland, which has had the example of England before her—which has ſuſtained the moſt violent

violent ſhocks from the failure of her Bankers—which has witneſſed their pride—their inſolence—their private views—their weakneſs, has never undertook the eſtabliſhment of a national bank. Her indolence and want of ſpirit would provoke our indignation, if we did not commiſerate her diſtreſs.

In Dublin, there is, at this time, four private banks. The houſe of Latouches, is equal, perhaps, in opulence to any private bank in Europe. The family is compoſed of men of the ſtricteſt integrity and the moſt amiable qualities, It is not my intention to inveſtigate characters; there are valuable and worthy men, I believe, in all thoſe banking houſes.

But no valuable qualities in individuals will be an atonement for their public inconvenience, or their collective conduct. The paper of theſe banks hold the ſame rank in payment as the notes of the bank of England in this country. The demand on a Banker in Ireland is for caſh. He muſt diſcharge his outſtanding notes with ſpecie, or he is inſolvent.

The principal object of the banking trade in Ireland is the buſineſs of diſcounting. If we ſuppoſe the capital of a houſe to be any given ſum, with which they propoſe to diſcount, it is obvious, that if they only employ this capital, they can have no other advantage than the legal intereſt of their fortune. This might be attain-

ed

ed many ways, without the hazard and numerous expences of this undertaking. But as Bankers poſſeſſing the public confidence, they preſerve at home a certain quantity of ſpecie, which they deem ſufficient to anſwer the ordinary demands upon them and keep in a courſe of circulation, four or five times their capital. It muſt be evident from theſe premiſes, that no Banker purſuing this branch of his buſineſs, is literally equal to his engagements. He may be poſſeſſed of landed property, of other Bankers notes, of government debentures, but none of theſe articles can be offered in payment, whilſt he preſerves his credit.

In the year 1772, public credit in England comunicated the ſhock it underwent at that period to Ireland, and produced a run on the banks in Dublin. The houſe of Sir George Colebrooke and Company, in that city, failed, and another houſe, Finlay and Company, of whoſe fortune and integrity I have a good opinion, was reduced to the neceſſity of paying in government debentures; and at length, of having their notes indorſed to ſtrengthen the ſecurity.

Beſides thoſe which are properly called Banking houſes, there have been others of an inferior claſs, who have for a time occupied a certain portion of public confidence. Of the laſt were the houſes of Hugh Hen. Mitchell and Richard Under-

Underwood, Eſqrs. Theſe gentlemen who were eminent land agents, iſſued notes, in which they promiſed to be accountable on demand. The former ſucceeded his father in this path, and although Mr. Mitchell was ſome thouſands deficient at his father's deceaſe, he continued for many years to enjoy a conſiderable degree of truſt. Mr. Underwood, from an obſcure origin, by the efforts of an indefatigable induſtry, had raiſed himſelf to a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons, and poſſeſſed as an agent a lucrative income.

Mr. Mitchell had long ſtruggled under the difficultles ariſing from his original embarraſsments; when at length, in the beginning of laſt year, he failed. At this time, Mr. Birch, a man of infinite enterprize, who, from keeping a grocer's ſhop, was become a member of the Houſe of Commons, in poſſeſſion of the Kingſland eſtate, of the eſtate of George Ogle, Eſq;—in ſhort, who had a rent roll of twelve thouſand pounds a year—had, notwithſtanding all this ſemblance of greatneſs, been long connected with Mr. Mitchell, for the purpoſe of a mutual ſupport. Unable to make good his engagements without this ſecret aid, his failure immediately followed that of Mr. Mitchell's. This great bankruptcy, which amounted to near two hundred thouſand pounds, once more alarmed the public for the ſafety of the banks. They immediately preſſed

that

that bank which had appeared weakeſt in 1772; and notwithſtanding the efforts of that houſe to obtain caſh from England in time, to anſwer the terrified holders of their notes, it was after much ſtruggling, compelled to ſtop payment. At this period Mr. Underwood alſo failed.

An entire ceſſation of diſcounting enſued. Thoſe who had lodged money in the Banks, thinking it no longer ſecure, cauſed it immediately to be withdrawn. The bankers ceaſing to be an object of confidence, were unable, or unwilling to extend it to others. An univerſal diſtruſt prevailed. Merchants who had embarked their fortunes in unſucceſsful purſuits, who were deficient, or who relying on their reputation for integrity or fortune, had ventured into engagements, upon an expectation of diſcounting, continued to fail, and each to ſpread an additional ruin. Money was not to be obtained for the common occaſion of circulation. The moſt opulent experienced the embarraſſment of diſcharging their debts in ſpecie, when caſh alone was in uſe. Commerce reverts to it's firſt narrow and circumſcribed circle —the buſineſs of the merchant is no more, and with him periſhes the ſpirit and welfare of the nation.

Let us ſuppoſe the notes in circulation iſſued by the bankers upon the credit of the merchant and money holders, to have amounted to half a million, and that four parts of this ſum in the courſe

courſe of a year, has been withdrawn, the effect of this event upon manufactures and commerce, muſt appear pregnant with ruin. *

The hiſtory of theſe commercial events, is ſufficient without any argument, to prove the expediency of a national bank in Ireland: as ſuſpicion can never here awake, this inſtitution can never be ſubject to the violence of alarm. The private banks would alſo experience the ſhelter of it's wide ſpreading branches. The paper of the national would be in the place of what ſpecie is at preſent. Whilſt the private poſſeſſed debentures and good mercantile paper, the national bank, zealous for the public ſafety, would never ſuffer them to fail.

We have ſeen the private banks riding in the tempeſt, we have beheld their wreck, and the numerous diſaſters which have flowed from their misfortunes, let us next examine them when the ſky is ſerene, and the ſea calm and unruffled.

The buſineſs of Exchange is one great ſource of a banker's profit. This the wealthy bankers can raiſe or fall at pleaſure, it is no more than to enlarge or reſtrain their diſcounting, to enter into ſecret agreements to take or not to take bills upon the exhange. Thus the intereſts of the merchant and the community, are ſacrificed to the convenience and profit of a few individuals.

Governed

* The circulation of the bank of England paper, is ſuppoſed to be ſixty millons.

Governed by ſecret and unknown motives, inſtead of allowing the merchant a ſafe and certain navigation, with which for a time he is deluded, he is ſuddenly and without any apparent cauſe driven on ſhoals or rocks, where he periſhes without a hand ſtretched out to his aſſiſtance. The caprice of a partner, the pretended ſettlement of their accounts; the dread of an approaching linen market, the failure of ſome merchant, cauſes them without any notice to forbear diſcounting.

The anxious merchant turns over his bills, places the beſt uppermoſt, and like ſome unfortunate criminal dragged to execution, approaches with a palid cheek and trembling hand, the counter of the banker—he watches his eyes—he examines his countenance, as if the dye of life was about to be caſt; and now he either revives in all the tranſport of happineſs, or ſinks into the gloomy vale of dejection and deſpair.

The converſe of the merchants of this unfortunate country, is not an enquiry into new and untracked channels of profitable commerce; a mutual information of the wants and neceſſities of foreign kingdoms, of the cheap and advantageous commodities of different countries, but whether the banks *are doing any thing*, an intimation of their private diſtreſſes, an exchange of their notes, information of private diſcounting and bitter reflections on the calamity of the times.

Such

Such is the picture I draw of the conſequences of the preſent mode of banking in the Metropolis of Ireland. I ſhall be happy if a repreſentation, not overcharged, ſhould produce any beneficial effects.

## *Of an Abſentee Tax.*

I Shall endeavour to eſtabliſh the following propoſition, viz. That a tax upon all lands, tenements, and heriditaments in Ireland, the proprietors of which do not reſide ſix months in the year in that kingdom, is juſt and expedient.

The juſtice of this tax I ſhall attempt to prove from two conſiderations: Firſt, that every man enjoying property in a country is bound to defend it; and next, that every perſon ought to contribute a part of his property towards the expence of that government, by which the remainder is protected.

The original title to lands was the right of occupancy. Abſence implying an idea of an abandonment of that occupancy, which in this caſe is the whole title, would warrant either a forfeiture of the poſſeſſion, or at leaſt a quantum of it for preſerving the reſt. The introduction of the feodal ſyſtem, eſtabliſhed as a fundamental maxim, that the king was ſupreme lord of all the lands in his dominions, and that every man's poſſeſſions were derived as a gift from him on

condition of rendering feodal ſervice. The honourable and eſſential part of the ſervice required under this tenure, was that the tenants ſhould be prepared, not only to *defend* their *own property*, but that of the whole kingdom. The policy and wiſdom of this conſtitution appeared in the immutable footing the Feudiſts gained wherever they once ſettled.

Independent of the feodal principles, which are the baſis of our policy, the right of calling on each individual to give his aid in preſerving that ſtate from which he derives his property, is evident from natural reaſon. It cannot for a moment be ſuppoſed that any perſon is obliged to hazard his life in the defence of that which the owner does not think proper to defend, and which poſſibly he ignominiouſly deſerts in the hour of danger. The preſence of the proprietor is frequently neceſſary from two cauſes, to reſiſt internal turbulence, or oppoſe external hoſtility. If he neglects his duty under either of theſe circumſtances, I ſhall not affirm that his property ought to be entirely forfeited, but the inference is undeniable, that a certain portion of his property in that country ought to be demanded, in order to provide for the general preſervation.

The Greek legiſlators carried this principle much farther; they ſuppoſed every man to owe an indiſpenſible duty to his country, which in

times

times of public emergency would have rendered him infamous, if he had not exerted himſelf in it's defence. As in civil commotions the ſafety of the ſtate was endangered, Solon the Athenian legiſlator enacted, that whoever was neuter on theſe occaſions ſhould have his property confiſcated. It was deemed an impiety of the firſt magnitude to be an inactive ſpectator of any evil which threatened to overwhelm the ſtate. It is from this principle that American confiſcation, I preſume, has been adopted.

On the whole, Ireland has internal foes and external enemies; thoſe whoſe ſituation will not allow them to appear in it's defence, or who ſhrink from the proſpect of danger, *ought with chearfulneſs* and gratitude to contribute to the national ſtrength.

The other conſideration on which the juſtice of this tax reſts, is equally concluſive. Society was inſtituted for the protection of the lives and properties of it's members. It is eſſential to it that there ſhould be a power lodged ſomewere to enact laws, and to carry theſe laws into execution. This power we call government, and it's eſtabliſhment requires a certain contribution from each individual for it's ſupport, which is named the revenue; and therefore, if any individual refuſes to contribute his aid toward that eſtabliſhment by which his life or property is preſerved, he puts himſelf out of the protection

of

of government, and his poſſeſſions ought to be ſeized. The learned Monteſquieu defines public revenue to be a portion that each ſubject gives of his property, in order to ſecure and enjoy the remainder.

Abſentees do not contribute to that eſtabliſhment by which a large military force is ſupported to preſerve the kingdom from foreign enemies; they give nothing towards the ſupport of thoſe laws by which their property is ſecured from private invaſion. Inſtead of appearing perſonally as the champions of their country, they ſap the foundation of it's ſtrength. It is to them that Ireland muſt attribute her preſent feebleneſs and imbecillity; they have relaxed all the ſprings of commerce and induſtry, by draining the kingdom of it's ſpecie. They have left no other reſource to the unfortunate and injured inhabitants but their arms and native intrepidity, againſt the hoſtile deſigns of the houſe of Bourbon.

Having conſidered the juſtice of this tax under theſe two heads, I ſhall attempt to take a view of it from another ſtation.

What are the general motives which induce the abſentees from Ireland to reſide in another kingdom? They are evidently theſe three. To gratify their luxury, or their ambition—or becauſe they have large poſſeſſions in England. No perſon for a moment will argue it to be juſt

that

that the inhabitants of Ireland ſhould be wretched, even literally ſtarved, for the purpoſe of adminiſtering to the voluptuous appetites of any opulent individual in England. All the real bleſſings of life may be enjoyed in their utmoſt extent in Ireland. Inſtead of being overlooked or contemn'd in the immenſe vortex of wealth with which he is ſurrounded in this kingdom, a grateful tenantry in Ireland would behold him with a reſpect approaching to adoration. This would be an ambition worthy of a generous, an upright, and a ſenſible man. If however he ſhould prefer the vain and deſultory hopes of arriving at power by an abject attendance on court favorites or political revolution; his expectations muſt compenſate for a tax, to which this motive for his abſence cannot poſſibly be any claim for exemption. The third and laſt motive which I have aſſigned, may be anſwered with facility: in all well regulated governments, the taxes ſhould be impoſed in proportion to the degrees of property. The very argument that in this caſe might be offered againſt this tax is the ſtrongeſt * that can be urged in its favor: It is a tax which being founded on the great claim of ſociety, that each individual ſhould contribute

* At Athens theſe perſons who poſſeſſed no more than the neceſſaries of life were not taxed, it was only on ſuch as enjoyed the ſuperfluities of life that taxes were impoſed.

contribute to its ſupport, falls happily on thoſe who, by their own acknowledgment, are the proper objects of all taxation—the *rich* and *opulent*.

The juſtice of this tax being now I hope firmly eſtabliſhed, I ſhall have little occaſion to dwell on it's expediency. In general whatever is juſt, is alſo expedient.

A tax ſhould be impoſed on abſentees, becauſe the revenue of the kingdom has ſunk beneath even it's neceſſary eſtabliſhment; and this is the only tax which ought to paſs at this period of national diſtreſs, as it aſſiſts the revenue without being any burthen to a people who are unable to ſupport the taxation they at preſent endure. It ought to paſs, becauſe it will arreſt a portion of that current inceſſantly flowing out of the kingdom for the ſupport of abſentees, which has debilitated the kingdom, and been one principal ſource of her preſent misfortunes. It ſhould be enacted, in order to check the increaſing ſpirit of abſence from that country, and to prevent the whole rent roll of the kingdom from being in the hands of abſentees and Eaſt-Indian nabobs.

This impartial tax, on which the proſperity of Ireland ſo much depends, was propoſed in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons in the year 1773, with the conſent of adminiſtration in England. The celebrated Mr. Flood, who had been a patriot for twelve years, came over to government that ſeſſions. He ſupported this meaſure with all that

force

force and energy of argument for which he had been ſo diſtinguiſhed. His principal antagoniſt was the eloquent Mr. Burgh, then named Mr. Huſſey the preſent Prime Serjeant of Ireland. It required the utmoſt ſtretch of his captivating oratory to colour this fatal oppoſition. The tax was loſt by a ſmall majority. The public had been deluded with an opinion that this juſt and neceſſary tax was only a prelude to a general one on lands. Prepoſſeſſed by this notion, they rejoiced at the rejection of a tax which had been the favorite wiſh of the people ſince the days of Dr. Swift.

The true cauſe of it's failure proceeded, however, from two circumſtances. Government content with not oppoſing a wiſe and ſalutary meaſure, left it's ſucceſs to it's intrinſic worth, without any particular recommendation to it's dependants, and all the immenſe * weight of the actual abſentees, or thoſe who apprehended, they might be in that predicament, were thrown into the ſcale to balance its juſtice, its neceſſity, its expediency.

If this tax ſhould be now propoſed in Ireland, this intereſted, but therefore formidable oppoſition, will vaniſh. The hardieſt veteran in diſſipation, the moſt luxurious, or the moſt ſordid abſentee, would not dare to give it either public or private reſiſtance. The diſtreſſes of Ireland arms

* The following Lords were the moſt diſtinguiſhed in oppoſing this tax in 1773, Devonſhire, Rockingham, Beſsborough, Milton, and pUper Oſſory.

arms it with an energy, which ſophiſtry will never encounter, and which avarice (although it) may inwardly ſigh at it's triumph) will not have courage to attack.

I ſhall hazard an opinion here, which has juſt ſuggeſted itſelf. The ſtate ought to be enriched by the opulence of it's ſubjects, and not begin with impoveriſhing the people, to fill the exchequer. This tax ought then to be rather appropriated to the advancement of manufactures.—Suppoſe that the tax ariſing on the abſentees from each county, was applied in premiums for the encouragement of it's trade. This would alſo be an act of juſtice, becauſe ſome counties may have infinitely more wealth drawn from them by abſentees than others. One hundred thouſand pounds expended in this manner, would in one year, improve the revenue, perhaps double its amount.

The rent roll of Ireland is computed to amount to about four millions. Of this one million and a half, is ſuppoſed in the hands of abſentees. A tax of 2s. in the pound, would therefore produce 150,000 l. a year.

Appeals to England from the Iriſh courts of Law, have been fraught with injury. Ignorant of the cuſtoms of that kingdom, deciſions are made in the Engliſh Houſe of Lords, which frequently militate againſt juſtice, equity, and the general intereſt of Ireland. Of this, a remarkable inſtance occurred in the laſt ſeſſions. This was a caſe, where, upon a leaſe for lives renewable for ever, with covenants to pay a certain fine at the dropping of each life, the Leſſee had been relieved in Chancery in Ireland, from the legal claim of the Leſſor, for a breach of the covenant. The Leſſor had made no demand upon the tenant for theſe fines, upon the demiſe of the lives. A great part of the lands of Ireland are held under tenures of this quality, and they have been always conſidered as perpetuities. The Lord Chancellor of Ireland decreed a compenſation to the Leſſor, founded upon the value of a life, which he computed at ſeven years. This was the decree which Lord Thurlow, aided by two or three Peers, reverſed. This determination has ſhaken the whole property of that kingdom. It has deſtroyed an immenſe number of ſmall eſtates of 100l. or 200l. a year, which have been abſorbed by ſome great Abſentees.

A SKETCH

A

# SKETCH

OF SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL

# POLITICAL CHARACTERS

IN THE KINGDOM OF

# IRELAND.

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## *The Right Honourable Mr. Prime Serjeant* Burgh.

NATURE, in forming this gentleman, ſeems to have collected all her ſtrength, to give to the world the moſt accompliſhed orator of the age. Poſſeſſed of a graceful perſon—a countenance marked and expreſſive—a voice, riſing from the moſt harmonious melody, to the manly dignity of animated vehemence—language, flowing gentle as the ſilver ſtream, or rolling with the thunder of the torrent, enriched with the buoyant pearl of the moſt beautiful figures, have enabled Mr. Burgh to command the reſpect, the admiration, and the moſt profound attention of the Houſe of Commons of Ireland.

The ſpeeches of this gentleman, on the moſt important occaſions, have ſeldom exceeded an hour in delivery. They are methodical and happily arranged. In general, when he oppoſed

adminiſtration, he argued with much ability and logical acuteneſs, relieving his audience with flaſhes of refined wit; or dazzling the imagination with the brilliancy of ſome happy metaphor.

He was advanced to the dignity of Prime Serjeant on the firſt arrangement of the Buckingham adminiſtration. At the ſame time he was ſworn one of his Majeſty's Privy Council of Ireland. Mr. Burgh is the principal miniſter and the real director of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons. Sir Richard Heron, the Viceroy's Secretary, is a ſilent auditor in the houſe.

The elegant talents of Mr. Burgh appeared very early, and produced ſome poetical flowers, when he was a ſtudent at Trinity college in Dublin. After the uſual courſe of ſtudy purſued at that ſeminary of learning, he continued for ſeveral years to live as a retired country gentleman, upon an eſtate of about ſix hundred pounds per year. A taſte for conviviality and diſſipation, which had ſomewhat embarraſſed his fortune, returned to the world this diſtinguiſhed character.

At the age of thirty or upwards, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the law. The firſt opportunity Mr. Burgh poſſeſſed of diſplaying his talents at the Iriſh bar, was occaſioned by thoſe unfortunate perſons, called *Hearts of Steel*, who, in the year 1769 or 1770, were brought to Dublin, by virtue of an expreſs Act of Parliament,

ment, to take their trial, for crimes committed in the northern parts of the kingdom. The reputation he acquired by his able and pathetic defence of thoſe unhappy people, laid the baſis of his ſubſequent ſucceſs as a lawyer.

About this time alſo he was brought into Parliament by the late Duke of Leinſter, to oppoſe the adminiſtration of Lord Townſend. This was the grand ſcene where Mr. Burgh's abilities ſhone each day with increaſed luſtre. During the adminiſtration of Lord Harcourt, his eminent qualities placed him deſervedly at the head of the Minority. His eloquence, an opinion of his integrity, and a peculiar complacency of diſpoſition, contributed to give him the pre-eminence of his party, and rendered him the idol of the people.

When Mr. Burgh ceaſed to be a patriot,* he did not relinquiſh the good opinion of the public. Upon defections of this kind the people had been accuſtomed to convert the fervor of eſteem and admiration into the utmoſt tranſports of anger and reſentment. They at length had learned, that oppoſition is, in general, rather political than ſincere. The moſt diſpaſſionate and ſenſible even preſaged happy conſequences, from a man of integrity and talents having been taken into the direction of government.

In

* He came over to the preſent Adminiſtration in Ireland.

In this hope they have not yet been diſappointed. No new taxes were impoſed the laſt ſeſſions of Parliament, and in the opening of the preſent, Mr. Burgh ſtands the friend of government; at the ſame time, to his immortal honor, a lover of his country and an honeſt man.

## *The Right Honourable* John Scott, *Attorney General of Ireland.*

AT the commencement of the Townſhend Adminiſtration in Ireland, Mr. Scout was a young lawyer, without fortune or family-connection. That ſucceſs, which great legal knowledge and an exalted genius, have often ſought after with unavailing aſſiduity, Mr. Scott attained, by the poſſeſſion of one ſingular, tho' an unamiable quality. This was an intrepid aſſurance and a matchleſs effrontery, which it was impoſſible to abaſh. It had been the wiſh of government to introduce ſome character on the political theatre at that time, who might ridicule when he could not convince; who might enliven ſome dull argument, by a certain promptitude for occaſional repartee; and who, ſtanding himſelf invulnerable, either from inſignificance or the hardihood of impudence, might aſſail, diſhearten,

hearten, and confound the patriotic warriors of that memorable period.

The government of that kingdom, to whom Mr. Scott was recommended, as a gentleman fully qualified to perform this political character, in a little time diſcovered, they had abundant reaſon to applaud their choice. Modeſty is generally the companion of merit; but on this occaſion, great and unexpected talents were united with a dauntleſs intrepidity of countenance, and an aſſumed ferocity of manners. Mr. Scott laughed, bullied, and argued with great advantage to miniſtry. He ſupported the friends and terrified the opponents of government. Dr. Lucas, the late famous patriot in Ireland, ſtood then a conſpicuous figure, a Goliah of patriotiſm, againſt whom he levelled an inceſſant diſcharge of the arrows of ridicule and ſarcaſm. The old man's tremulous broken voice, which frequently reſembled the ſhrill croaking of a cock * —his decrepid emaciated perſon, reſting upon crutches—his firſt occupation as an apothecary, afforded Mr. Scott an infinite field for exerciſing thoſe ſatirical talents, with which he was ſo eminently endowed.

Theſe exertions in favour of government, were not intended by Mr. Scott as a free-will offering from

* The creſt of Dr. Lucas happened to be that of a cock crowing.

from which he was not to expect any reward. Senſible of his importance as a pillar of miniſtry, his application for preferment was unceaſing, and his temper would not ſuffer him to be diſconcerted by the awkwardneſs of repulſe. In a few years, he has riſen through all the various ſtages of the law, to the eminent dignity he now enjoys, of being his Majeſty's Attorney-General of Ireland.

The novelty of this miniſterial career, expoſed him at firſt to the moſt indignant laſh of patriotiſm. That characteriſtic quality which firſt called him into the political world, they abuſed, by applying to him the vulgar and reproachful appellation of Copper Face. Public reſentment is frequently equally capricious, tranſient, and temporary, as it's admiration.

The ungraceful gloom which hung over the valuable parts of Mr. Scott's character, from the original peculiarity of his ſituation, has gradually diſſipated, and diſplayed to the world, a maſculine underſtanding, great legal knowledge and an unbounded generoſity. *

For

* Mr. Scott has not been aſhamed to be grateful. Whoever had rendered him any ſervice in the early part of his life, received a tenfold reward. One gentleman, who had aſſiſted him when a ſtudent at the Temple, meeting with ſome misfortunes, Mr. Scott appointed him receiver to an eſtate of 400l. per year, with an injunction to apply the rents to his own uſe for life.

For many years he has quitted the path of ludicrous and degrading ridicule, to walk in a track more ſolemn, reſpectable, and better adapted to the high rank he has arrived at in his profeſſion.

Perhaps no man has ever been a greater favourite of Fortune. At a period when many eminent perſons have ſcarcely emerged from obſcurity, we find him ſoaring from almoſt the pinnacle of legal preferment. *

Mr. Scott is a robuſt athletic figure, of a brown complexion—his countenance broad and expanded—his features ſtrong, and correſpond with that forcible, ſonorous and vehement delivery, which he is accuſtomed to exert at the bar and in the ſenate.

## *The Right Honourable* Henry Flood, *Vice Treaſurer of Ireland.*

FOR twelve years, Mr. Flood blazed a ſtar of the firſt magnitude in the political hemiſphere: all his competitors in the path of liberty ſtood eclipſed by his ſuperior glory. The frowning terror of his brow, and the deep hollow

* The late Attorney General's income was eſtimated at 20,000l. per year. Mr. Scott's profeſſional abilities enable him to make nearly as much; and he is ſuppoſed to be under forty years of age.

hollow of his voice, ſtruck government with diſmay. His arguments, ſtrong, logical, and concluſive, were delivered with a fortitude and manly vehemence, which, like the violence of ſome raging tempeſt, overwhelmed every adverſary.

His long probation, to which he often appealed for his ſincerity and the rectitude of his heart—his fortune, which although not extenſive, yet was independant—gave a firmneſs and an eſtabliſhment to his character, which it did not ſeem in the power of Fortune to diſturb.

On the eve of the meeting of Parliament, in the beginning of the Harcourt Adminiſtration, the patriotiſm of Mr. Flood began to wear an aſpect of ſuſpicion. This great tergiverſation was at firſt diſplayed to the public with an air of doubt and heſitation, calculated by it's ſuſpence, to abate the violence of the firſt paroxyſm of national reſentment. Attempts were even made in the daily prints to defend this deſertion of the public cauſe. The intended Adminiſtration of Lord Harcourt was coloured with all the brilliancy of fancy, and held out as a golden age, when every bleſſing of a good government would be ſhed over them, to render the kingdom completely happy.

Mr. Flood, whoſe miniſterial appointments were at length publicly announced, continued during the Seſſions, a ſilent ſupporter of government,

ment. This reſpect to the people, and to his former ſentiments, raiſed him a little in the public opinion, from that abyſs of contempt into which he had ſo unhappily fallen.

The only public ſubjects in which Mr. Flood took any part, were the Abſentee tax and the Corn Act. The former he ſupported with incontrovertible force, although from ſecret intrigues it unfortunately miſcarried. The Corn Act has been the ſaviour of Ireland from abſolute famine: it owed it's exiſtence to his efforts when in oppoſition, and he now appeared it's patron on his arrival at power.

Whatever may be the meaſure of his diſpoſition in behalf of the public, his intereſt in his native country expired with his popularity. The freeholders of the county of Kilkenny, whom he had for many years repreſented, refuſed at the laſt general election, to return him for their repreſentative.

In the preſent ſeſſions he ſeems to have diſrobed himſelf of his miniſterial garb, to reſume once more that manly intrepid character, in which he hath appeared with ſo much honour to himſelf and advantage to his country.

The coolneſs with which Mr. Flood has been received by the Britiſh Adminiſtration, on his late conference with them on the ſituation of Ireland, would appear ominous to the preſent glow of Iriſh expectation, and would prognoſ-

ſicate, that a Vice Treaſureſhip of that country will ſoon be vacant.

## *The Right Honourable* John Hely Hutchinſon, *Provoſt of Trinity College in Dublin.*

THERE is an inordinate ambition in ſome men, which, as it climbs the thorny aſcent of power, inſtead of being repulſed by the peril, anxiety, and ſolicitude of it's courſe, ſeems even amidſt it's pangs, to find a new ſtimulus to further exertion.

Mr. Hutchinſon was bred to that favourite path of Iriſh ſtudy, the law. In a ſhort time, after his being called to the bar, he was introduced into Parliament; where he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf as an opponent to Adminiſtration, and as a graceful orator. The ſlave of an illuſive ambition, he has reached various ſtages of promotion, with a facility which ought to have ſoothed into happineſs a mind, the deſires of which were not inſatiable. But thoſe glittering proſpects of human felicity, which are not founded upon virtue, in the moment of fruition, either prove taſteleſs or inſipid; or, leave behind them the ſting of an exquiſite calamity.

The patriotiſm of this gentleman originally overleaped all bounds of moderation. The ſe-

nate

nate reſounded with the love of his country—appeals to his integrity, his diſintereſtedneſs. To day the clamour of oppoſition rung in the ears of miniſtry—they were rapacious—profuſe—the ruin of the nation was predicted, with all the fervor of a heated imagination—with all the ſucceſs of a ſmooth and flowing eloquence.—In the next, ſuch was the diſgraceful immodeſty of his converſion; he became the friend and firmeſt advocate of that miniſtry he had ſo loudly condemned.

After this defection from the public cauſe, Mr. Hutchinſon's paſſion for preferment could not be reſtrained within the pale of decorum—No place, however foreign to the line of his profeſſion, whether vacant or expectant, could eſcape the vigilance of his attention. He has aimed at and actually appeared in the moſt contradictory characters. In the law we find him promoted to the rank of Prime Serjeant of Ireland—he was next Alnager of that kingdom, and a Major on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment. About this time alſo it has been ſaid, he applied for the Archbiſhoprick of Tuam. He alſo procured the reverſionſhip of ſecretary of ſtate, expectant on the death of the late Mr. Tiſdall; a place which he now enjoys, together with the provoſtſhip of Trinity College in Dublin.

There is an intemperance, a warmth in the diſpoſition of this gentleman, which frequently has

has betrayed him into the moſt raſh and unguarded conduct.

An enmity had long ſecretly ſubſiſted between him and the late Attorney General of Ireland, the grave, phlegmatic, but intelligent Mr. Tiſdall, one of the repreſentatives of the College of Dublin. On Mr. Hutchinſon's advancement to the Provoſtſhip of the College, an entire diſuhion in their parliamentary views and intereſt in that ſeminary, fanned their latent reſentments into a blaze; which, from the irraſcible temper of the Provoſt, hurried him to the brink of apparent inevitable ruin. Enraged at ſome cold but ſarcaſtic obſervation from the Attorney General, the Provoſt, forgetting he was in a court of juſtice, unmindful of his own character, or that of his adverſary, raiſed his hand, and challenged the infirm old man to fight a duel. This attack, as it was called, upon the life of a privy counſellor, his Antagoniſt prepared to puniſh with that ſlow but ſteady reſolution which marked his character. An information was moved for againſt the Provoſt—his conduct was repreſented to the Privy Counſel, and application, it is ſaid, was made to the Miniſtry in England. It was expected he would have been puniſhed by the Court of King's Bench with a heavy fine—that he would have been ſtruck off the liſt of Privy Counſellors—that he would have loſt his reverſionſhip of Secretary of State—

and

and that, by the ſtatutes of the College, he would have been diſqualified for the office of Provoſt.

At this dreary moment, when the impending thunder ſeemed ready to burſt upon his head, theſe lowering terrors ſuddenly vaniſhed, and proſperity again beamed upon his fortunes. The unexpected death of Mr. Tiſdall in Germany, diſpelled all theſe gloomy apprehenſions. This event was rendered ſtill more important by his ſucceſſion to the Secretaryſhip of State, worth 1500l. a year.

The dignity of the provoſtſhip, ſo flattering to Mr. Hutchinſon's ambition, ſeemed, from the hour of his elevation, to have opened the ſource of endleſs misfortune. The cares incident to government were unſheltered by the wing of prerogative.

The College could not, without ſome indignation, behold the ungracious obtruſion of a Provoſt, who might be learned as a lawyer, without being qualified to preſide at the head of this venerable ſeminary. The diſpenſing power of the Crown had alſo been exerted to overcome the incapacity ariſing from the ſtatutes of the College, which required all it's members to be in a ſtate of celibacy.

Under thoſe unfavourable circumſtances, men, poſſeſſed of more precaution and moderation, would have exerciſed a gentle hand of govern-

ment,

ment, until they were firmly eſtabliſhed, and thoſe unfriendly diſpoſitions had ſubſided.

In oppoſition to this ſimple and obvious policy, a new ſyſtem of College diſcipline was immediately introduced. A majority was ſecured at the board of Fellows of the College. Every thing wore the aſpect of change, of novelty, of party.

Deſirous of having the nomination of the College repreſentatives, every effort, every expedient for the attainment of this great object was exerted. Theſe are ſome of the conſequences reſulting from the ſpririt which now pervaded this ſeminary. A ſentence of deprivation is paſſed on a Batchelor of Arts—attacks are made on the Provoſt's conduct in the moſt licentious language, in every newſpaper—he quarrels with one of the junior fellows *—his eldeſt ſon, an amiable young gentleman, thinks it incumbent on him to challenge a counſellor Doyle. This diſpute

* Mr. Duigenan, a Doctor of Law. This gentleman, whoſe paſſions are nearly as high as the Provoſt's, accepted the firſt overture of a compenſation for his fellowſhip, for the purpoſe of withdrawing himſelf from Mr. Hutchinſon's power, and having an opportunity of gratifying his reſentments. The mode he adopted for this end was ſomewhat ſingular. He wrote a book, in octavo, containing 500 pages, with a great ſhare of learning and ingenuity; the whole ſubject of which was, to diſplay the miſconduct of the Provoſt, in the government of the College, and the ill uſage he himſelf had received.

diſpute ends in duels, fought by Mr. Doyle with both the provoſt and his ſon.

Such has been the long train of evil which followed theſe ill-concerted meaſures. By ſtretching his power beyond all reaſonable limits, he even failed in the expected repreſentation of the College. A ſpirit of reſentment was rouſed amongſt the electors, which enabled them, by a petition to Parliament, to defeat even the election of his ſon.

Poſſeſſed of an exquiſite ſenſibility of temper, and harraſſed by the moſt violent and inceſſant attacks in the public prints, his health and happineſs ſeemed to ſink under the weight of this unrelenting devaſtation.

For ſome time he has relinquiſhed the bar; and the turbulence of animoſity and party begins at laſt to decline. The eye of the public is now watchful on every political character. The Provoſt, who in his family has many excellent qualities, may poſſibly become once more dear to the public, by acting as a patriot and a friend to his country.

## Dennis Daly, *Eſq.*

THE character of this young gentleman would have reflected honour on Rome in her days of pureſt heroiſm.

In

In the bloom of life, * poſſeſſed of a fortune, ſufficiently ample to adminiſter to every luxury of the times, he ſeems to ſoar above the diſſipation and depravity of the age. In his political courſe he acts with a ſincerity, unimpeached by the remoteſt ſuſpicion: he ſtands the pillar of oppoſition, and is deſervedly ranked, from fortune, ability, and integrity, at the head of the friends of Ireland, in the Houſe of Commons.

There is an air of elegance and majeſtic beauty thrown over the Herculean ſymmetry of Mr. Daly's perſon. His voice is deep, perſuaſive, and manly. He poſſeſſes a peculiar quality of placing his moſt intereſting arguments in a variety of the moſt ſtriking and unexpected lights. Mr. Daly does not argue with the logical exactneſs of a lawyer; but he warms the mind—rouſes the imagination—and flaſhes conviction on his auditors.

It has been affirmed, that government has not overlooked this formidable opponent: but it is not in the net of ambition or venality this young man will ever be enthralled. When virtue, aided by wiſdom, preſides at the helm of government,

* He is about thirty or thirty-two years of age; and his fortune, which is expected to increaſe very conſiderably, is about 8,000l. per year. Mr. Daly, like the Duke of Richmond, dreſſes very plain, and never appears in a carriage.

vernment, Mr. Daly, I willingly believe, will require no allurement to diſcharge his duty.

## *Mr.* Grattan.

THIS gentleman came into Parliament laſt ſeſſion, under the auſpices of Lord Charlemont. A few years ago he practiſed as a barriſter; but from ſome unaccountable fatality, which frequently attends genius, he was almoſt entirely overlooked.

In the political line, if it has produced him no emolument hitherto, he has eſtabliſhed the reputation of a ſenſible, lively, ſpeaker, and an active opponent to government. The patriotiſm of a lawyer * is become rather problematical in Ireland. The obſervation is general, and is not meant to convey any ſingular imputation on the zeal which animates Mr. Grattan.

If Nature has been liberal in her mental endowments to this gentleman, ſhe has been uncommonly parſimonious in the qualities of his perſon. Perhaps, for ſo young a man, a more ungraceful parliamentary orator has ſcarcely ever been exhibited. Mr. Grattan is of a low ſize, crooked and diſtorted in his ſhape—his viſage



* There are upwards of eighty lawyers in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons.

long and unmeaning—his head placed on the back of his neck, whilſt his projecting chin forms a large obtuſe angle with his breaſt. His voice is ſhrill and inharmonious. With all theſe natural defects, Mr. Grattan, by the force of a good and prompt underſtanding, united with a pleaſing ſubtilty of wit and occaſional repartee, makes one of the moſt conſiderable figures amongſt thoſe who lately oppoſed the meaſures of government in Ireland.

## George Ogle, *Eſq.*

A Judicious and rational œconomy gives vigor to a ſpirit of virtuous independance, and is frequently it's baſis. Diſſipation may make her claims to the poſſeſſion of this quality, but will ſeldom, with men of diſcernment, find credit for her aſſertions. She is as inſatiable, almoſt, as ambition, and is equally neglectful about the means by which her deſires are to be gratified.

In the political world, when extravagance and indiſcretion diſcharge the thunder of declamation at miniſters, we are apt to conſider ſuch men as actors, who perform their aſſumed characters with extraordinary force and lively colouring. We are often obliged to have recourſe to the habits and conduct of private life, to conduct

conduct us through the mazes of political exertion. The generous diſdain of every ſordid and mercenary conſideration, is urged with equal force by the dupe of a uſurious contract, the undone and ruined rake, as by the accumulating miſer. The profuſion of government may be held up with infinite ability by ſome unfortunate ſpendthrift; but our indignation at national indiſcretion is frequently arreſted and ſuſpended, by our admiration of the unfeeling temerity of the orator.

Theſe obſervations do not meet the character of Mr. Ogle in every point of contact. This gentleman, poſſeſſed of a large eſtate, plunged into the exceſſes of the gay world, with ſuch unhappy ſucceſs, that he found it expedient to diſpoſe of all his eſtate, reſerving a conſiderable life annuity.

His conduct in Parliament has been uniformly an honourable, ſpirited, and eloquent oppoſition to government. Few gentlemen deliver more zealous, lively, and entertaining ſpeeches in the Iriſh Parliament. He is ſometimes, indeed, hurried through the ſtock of ideas inſtantly in poſſeſſion, and a momentary pauſe is required, to recruit the vigour of his imagination. It is much to be regretted, that Mr. Ogle's impoveriſhed fortune has made him leſs reſpectable in oppoſition, and gives a certain diſtruſt

diſtruſt to the otherwiſe ſolid rock of his patriotiſm.

## *Sir* Edward Newnham.

IN the beginning of Lord Townſhend's adminiſtration in Ireland, Sir Edward poſſeſſed the place of collector of exciſe for the county of Dublin; the duties of this office he diſcharged with an activity, zeal and ability, that received many flattering encomiums.

The general diſguſt which that nobleman's meaſures excited in Ireland, gave birth to a violent and incenſed oppoſition: unfortunately Sir Edward ſignalized himſelf upon this occaſion. He did not appear inſenſible to the inevitable danger, to which this conduct would expoſe his employment; he ſeemed even to provoke the reſentment of government, by daring them to deprive him of his office, for performing his parliamentary duty with integrity. Unfortunately for Sir Edward, theſe intimations were not extended to a miniſtry, whoſe ſouls were ſufficiently capacious to overlook the ebullitions of party or patriotiſm in the neceſſities and wants of the man.

They ungenerouſly diſpoſſeſſed him of an office, which he had purchaſed with almoſt the whole

whole of his fortune. Sir Edward by this illiberal and unworthy revenge, was thrown, with a large family, on the bounty of a lady, to whom he is heir, for ſupport. *

This ſacrifice to Sir Edward's principles, altho' it met with the contempt of cold hearted prudence, procured him a large ſhare of popularity. He has, at this time, the honor of being one of the repreſentatives of the county of Dublin, in parliament. His oppoſition to thoſe acts, which he has deemed injurious to the true intereſts of his country, has been uniform and vehement.

Sir Edward has been conſidered rather as a zealous than an able ſpeaker; he is attended to by one ſide of the houſe as a friend, and by the other, regarded with an indifference approaching to contempt.

Animated by private injury, and public calamity, he is ſometimes betrayed into an intemperance in parliament, which moderation and prudence muſt condemn. Of this a late inſtance occurred on the debate in the Iriſh houſe of commons, to addreſs the King for a free trade; when he made uſe of the unguarded expreſſion: "that there was force enough in the "kingdom to dethrone any tyrant."

Sir

* Mrs. O Callagan, who is poſſeſſed of an eſtate worth about ſix thouſand pounds per year.

Sir Edward has two defects which muſt be deemed conſiderable obſtacles to the acquirement of parliamentary reputation; theſe are, an an imperfect hearing, and a voice uniformly inflated, in order to render it audible.

*N. B.* There are many other characters of importance in the Iriſh houſe of commons, but the deſign of this pamphlet will not permit me to enter further upon this ſubject.

FINIS.